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A

HISTORY OF INDIA

. By

Vāman Somnārāyan Dalāl B. A.

Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī Prizeman and

Nārāyān Vāsudev Scholar

(BOMBAY UNIVERSITY)

With a sketch of the author

By

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Vol. II

Buddhist Period

1922

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PREFACE

This is the second volume of the History of India by Mr. V. S. Dalal. The writer had stated in the preface to the first volume, that the whole work would be completed in six volumes. Unfortunately the programme could not be carried out. The writer died last year. But before his death he had finished the present volume, which deals with the Buddhistic period. The two volumes from his hand, are complete in themselves and together they form a book in two parts, dealing with ancient Indian History.

The ancient period of Indian History had not been heretofore treated in the way in which Mr. Dalal has done. His is the type of pioneer work which saves much trouble to other subsequent workers in the same field.

Mr. Dalal's deep knowledge of the Persian language would have proved extremely useful while writing about the Mahomedan rulers of India. But he was removed by death before his abilities were fully utilised. The fact that there are many other works dealing with the Mahomedan period is but a poor solace. Of the small number of workers in this field of learning, none can be spared without loss.

The first volume was most sympathetically reviewed by all critics and favourably received by the reading public. The traditions of the Buddhist period are not alive to-day like those of the medieval period. But the ground to be trodden here is much surer than it would be in the Vedic period with which the first volume closes. The period itself is much nearer in point of time, and the evidence obtainable is more authentic. The present volume thus bears a greater resemblance to "History" as it is interpreted by the general public. It is hoped therefore, that this will have an even more favourable reception than that accorded to the earlier volume.

Mr. Dalal died before he could prepare an index which is indispensable to such writings. An index has therefore been appended. It is made on the plan followed by the author in vol I.

Mr. Dalal would have certainly thanked the authorities of the Baroda Central Library, for the great facilities they gave him, by supplying him with as many books as he wanted at a time. I cannot close this preface without thanking them on behalf of the author. Mr. R. S. Dalal B. A., the brother of the author is also to be thanked for the kind help that he has given towards publishing this volume.

Surat November 1, 1921.

V. J. Pathakji.



VAMANRAO SOMNARAYAN DALAL,

B.A.

Born 9-12-1878]

[Died 1-5-1920

VAMAN. S. DALAL

A SKETCH

There are some men who arrest our attention more by what they have left undone than by what they actually did, more by their potentiality, than by their achievements. Their work may be small as compared to many others who have accomplished more, but their claim to be remembered by posterity even greater. Mr. V. S. Dalal, the author of this work, belongs to this unfortunate class. He had hoped to be the first complete historian of India but he could not carry out even one half of his programme.

Born at Surat in 1879, in a very rich family, his prospects seemed brilliant in his childhood. His father Somnarayan, was a friend and colleague of the wellknown Sheth Premchand Roychand and the late Sir Shapurji Broacha, of the Bombay stock exchange. Mr. Somnarayan was a business man who had received a most liberal education in his day. He and the late Mr. Justice Nanabhai Haridas were together throughout in school and college. Both were favourite students of Dr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, who was then a professor of mathematics in the Elphinstone institution, which was changed into the Elphinstone College, when the Bombay University came into existence. Nanabhai was poor and was enabled to study only by the help of scholarships. Once he could not get a scholarship and was about to give up his

studies when his friend Somnarayan, offered the whole of his scholarship to Nanabhai and persuaded him to continue his studies. With the help thus received, Nanabhai completed his education and afterwards rose to the bench of the Bombay High Court. This early germ of generosity in Somnarayan, all the more surprising because he was himself not well-off at that time, developed immensely as he became rich and he came to hold a distinguished position among the stock-brokers of the day.

Vaman, his eldest son, would have received a very liberal training under his father, but while his son was still a boy, Somnarayan died suddenly leaving all his assets in unscrupulous hands. The now poor family transferred themselves from Bombay to Surat and young Vaman joined the Surat High School. In his mother, he had a guardian of remarkable ability and keen intellect. In an age when most women were illiterate, she was able to read the Times of India with ease. Such a lady would naturally look after the education of his boys with great attention. She loved discipline and instilled into Vaman those moral traits which proved so fruitful in his manhood. After passing the matriculation creditably, Vaman joined the Baroda College. At Baroda he stayed with his uncle Dr. Batukram, the personal physician to H. H. the Maharaji Sayajirao of Baroda. His college career was brilliant. During the four years of his studies, he always stood first in his class. He graduated with high honours at the early age of 18, and won the Narayan

Vasudeo Scholarship for proficiency in Biology. Unable to prosecute his studies further owing to his circumstances, he joined the Baroda service in 1900. This was also the year in which he married.

It is well known that, except in the higher offices, state service seldom brings competence. The difficulty of maintaining a family on slender pay in these days is great that a struggling young man is bound to be engrossed with it, until matters improve & Mr. Dalal was thus engaged in his early youth. Modest and unassuming by nature, his promotion was necessarily slow. Besides, the ever changing, shifting district life, is not conducive to literary pursuits. Mr. Dalal was solely immersed in the worries of official life, till in 1908, he became the political superintendent to the Revenue Commissioner at Baroda, a post which he retained till the day of his death. As his residence was now fixed, his early literary proclivities manifested themselves once more and he began to read archæological literature. Mr. Dalal was a student of biology but being a cultured man, he used to take interest in almost all the intellectual activities of the day. He therefore decided to try for the Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji prize, which is awarded by the Bombay University for writing the best thesis on a prescribed archæological topic. For months, he worked at it with wonderful determination. The Bhagvanlal prize is so seldom awarded that he was naturally diffident about the result. But when at last he learnt that the honour had been bestowed upon him, he at once decided

to write an early history of India. Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh, his professor at the Baroda College had once, when he was much pleased with Mr. Dalal's essay, asked him to write the history of India. The professor's words were still ringing in the ears of Mr. Dalal, when he decided to begin his work. That Indians are lacking in the historic instinct is a complaint which one hears almost every day. Mr. Dalal's decision was partly based on a desire to remove this blot from the Indian character. Besides, his idea was that only an Indian could do justice to Indian history.

Dr. Johnson has said that it does not require much ability to write history. This may be true with respect to modern history. But the writing of Vedic History of a country like India is a different matter altogether. The books on the subject are not easily available, the dates are uncertain, the events are scanty, the names of persons and places are undecided and the literature on the subject is conflicting. To select useful matter and arrive at definite conclusions under such conditions, is no easy task. It requires ability of a very high order to succeed in constructing a connected account of such antiquity. This Mr. Dalal accomplished after a continuous effort of five years, and he published his first volume in 1915.

Mr. Dalal's original intention was to write only Vedic History, but while reading for it, his interest for the subject grew deeper and deeper, till at last he decided to write a grand history of India, from the earliest times

to the present day. Mr. Dalal's first volume was admired in all quarters and the leading journals gave most favourable review of his work. It brought him some fame also and he came to the notice of His Highness the Gaekwar, who is wellknown for detecting talent and real abilities, wherever they are found. He was accordingly sent on special duty, to report on the administrative and secretariat systems of Madras and Mysore. These travels, and the consequently favourable chances of promotion in office would have distracted many a man from the work at his hand. But he possessed an indomitable will. He utilised all the time he could spare from official duties, for his private studies, and in 1920 he finished the second volume. The pressure of work was so great, that he was obliged even to steal hours from sleep. Without taking a day's leave from his official duties, where he had by this time become indispensable, Mr. Dalal went on reading and writing with a determination truly heroic. It was an ennobling sight to see him leave his bed (after a hot day's work) at three in the morning and commence work. He took the example of the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, who wrote so much in spite of manifold public duties, and it must in justice be said of Mr. Dalal that he deserved as much praise for his achievements as he whose example he followed.

In the early part of 1920, Mr. Dalal was sent by the Baroda Government to Bombay, to instruct Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in a case. The second volume, was nearly completed, when suddenly he broke down from over

work and worry. He was attacked by an acute form of broncho-pneumonia. His affectionate brother, Mr. R. S. Dalal, the Gujarati novelist, grudged no expenditure on his treatment but the attack proved fatal. Mr. V. S. Dalal died on the 20th of April 1920. He left behind him a widow, a son and three little daughters.

Mr Dalal was a tender father, a loving brother and an exemplary husband. He had such a keen sense of responsibility as the head of his family that with economy and thrift, he built up a modest income of his own to provide for the unknown future. His love for his brother sister and their children was unbound. If the true judgment on a man is that which is passed by children, Mr. Dalal would stand the trial as few others can. His regard for his wife was so intense that he was ready to help her in many domestic duties in the middle of all his work. There are scholars who are selfishly indifferent to their families but he was not one of them. Mr. Dalal's heart was as kind as his head was intelligent.

As the head of his office, he was loved and respected by everybody, from his head clerk down to his peon. His colleagues admired his straightforward character, while his superiors recognised his abilities by proclaiming him to be indispensable. After his Mysore tour, he was marked out as one of those who were bound to rise in office but the cruel hand of death, carried him away in the prime of youth. His behaviour towards all people was considerate and obliging. As an officer he was esteemed,

and not dreaded. His honesty was above suspicion. No Government could become tyrannical, if its officials were of Mr. Dalal's type. •

All who came in contact with him, recognised him as a great scholar. Mr Otto Rotheld, the wellknown scholar civilian, wrote to the present writer, that Mr. Dalal's death was a great loss to Indian scholarship. While he possessed all the traits of a true scholar, he was remarkably free from some of the usual faults of the class. For example he was absolutely free from pedantry. Hazlitt has said that anybody who has received a classical education, is lucky if he does not become a fool thereby. If this be true, Mr. Dalal was certainly the lucky man. He would never talk of history unless he was deliberately called upon to do so. With concentration of mind and singleness of purpose, he was everyday adding visibly to his acquisitions. The Baroda Central Library was his favourite haunt, and he would be found nowhere else except in his office. It may be said that had he lived long enough to complete his history, the purpose for which such big libraries are meant, might have been most eminently fulfilled. His premature death calls before our mind, the serious problem of the early deaths of talented University men.

Scholarship apart, it was a man that Mr. Dalal forces upon us the conviction that he was one of the finest children of India. Through he was of a middling size and

inclined to stoutness, his large intellectual forehead and penetrating eyes at once obliged one to recognise his presence. He had besides, a dignity of bearing and that indefinably subtle charm of manners which is to be seen only in the most cultured of men. His health was robust and he could use all his limbs with full vivacity. His frugal diet and regular life ought to have preserved him much longer than they did.

He had thought out for himself a course of conduct. This, together with commendable powers of self-control saved him from showing those inconsistencies of character or behaviour which are found in most men. There was no room in him for those contradictory qualities which are the bane of human nature. He never seemed a different man in different circumstances and if genius had been added to this rare quality, he would have become a great man. His conversation lacked fancy, but he never displayed any angularity of behaviour or want of good humour. On the contrary, his arguments revealed certain settled principles of duty which proclaimed the moral height to which he had arisen. Morbidity was never to be found in his thought or speech. His healthy cheerfulness made him acceptable wherever he went. He was not prone to superstition in any way. He was a sincere though not a zealous Hindu. At an early age, he drank deep at the fountain of western civilisation and this saved him from clinging to the less rational notions of zealous orthodoxy. In religious matters his mind was broad,

tolerant and sympathetic. As a man of independent spirit he had that noble freedom of sentiment, which is one of the best possessions of man. He was free from any prejudices. His steadiness and inflexibility in maintaining the obligations of duty and morality established his reputation in society. He was easy to please and hard to be offended; cheerful in temper and of a loving and benevolent heart. His charitable disposition was given full play so far as his circumstances would allow. Owing to his robust constitution, he was never restless fretful or melancholy. His extraordinary self-control, prevented him from uttering any hasty and satirical sallies against his friends or relations, if they displeased him. He had no enemies. He acted as if he were unconscious of the superiority of his excellent character, over those who came in his contact. He was indifferent to praise or blame and went on performing his duties with untiring energy. Gifted with uncommon powers of judging men's character and intellect, he could estimate the capabilities of men with surprising accuracy. After meeting Mr. Mahomed Ali, the famous khilafat leader, who was then in Baroda service, and an unknown man, he told the present writer that Mr. Mahomed Ali would one day shine out in the firmament of Indian Publicists, with the meteoric rapidity of Srijut Aurobindo Ghosh. The same powers of judgment, helped him in judging himself and noting his own limitations. His sobriety and gravity never came in the way of his appreciating or indulging in wit and humour. Vice of any sort,

he knew not. His outlook on life and men was so mature, that he always spoke with remarkable precision. He estimated men with a liberal heart, forgave them with a generous spirit, advised those who sought his advice with sympathetic imagination. He never took delight in sophistry or prevarication. He was thus the best company in the world when alone. In discussion, he benefitted the hearer by judging men and matters with genuine fairness.

Such was Mr. V. S. Dalal, perfect in many ways but unfortunate, learned in many things but unknown, wanting in little but suffering from want. A keen student, a noble officer, a great scholar, and a loving gentleman, one rarely meets his like. His motto was 'The path of duty is the way to glory.' He died while doing his duty. May glory attend him now.

V. J. P.

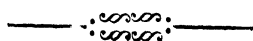
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A HISTORY OF INDIA

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.



Volume II.

FROM THE RISE OF BUDDHISM
TO THE MAHOMEDAN CONQUEST,



CHAPTER I.

THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF BUDDHA.

Siddhārtha Suddhodana Gautama, known to the world as Gautama Buddha, with whose life and teachings we promised to open the present Volume, in the concluding portion of Volume I, was born about the year 560 B. C. at Kapilavastu, in the country situated on the border of modern Nepal about two hundred miles due north of Benares. He belonged to the family of the Śākya and as noticed in Vol. I, it traced its descent from the famous solar dynasty—the dynasty to which some of the most illustrious kings of ancient India belonged. At the time of which we are speaking, it had however lost much of its grandeur and there is reason to believe that the principality which belonged to Buddha's father was only a small one, having as its capital the city of Kapilavastu. When his mother was on her

way to her father's house at Devadaha, Buddha was born in the grove of Lumbini, a place whose site has been definitely fixed owing to the discovery of a memorial tablet raised by the Emperor Aśoka and containing an inscription commemorating the event. The mother whose name was Māyādevī died soon after the birth of Buddha and he was brought up by Mahāprajāpati, his maternal aunt who was also wedded to his father.

Before we proceed to consider the details of the religion founded by Buddha, it is necessary to describe, in brief, the state of the society in the midst of which he was born and passed his early days. The caste system was by this time firmly established and in place of the two main divisions of the fair complexioned Aryans and the dark skinned Dasyus, a number of castes had sprung into existence. The Brāhmaṇas foreseeing the evil effects which intermixture with the lower classes leads to tried their best to set up barriers against such a fatal practice but these instead of achieving the result they wanted to bring about, split up the society into numerous watertight compartments. Thus, the two main divisions became divided into four, and these four became sub-divided again,* each claiming superiority according to the proportion of the higher element that ran in their veins. Society became disintegrated and instead of one homogeneous whole, there sprung up a number of social divisions with separatist tendencies.

In the matter of religion, a similar state of things prevailed. The higher teaching of the Upanisads was

* See my article regarding the Origin and Growth of the Caste System in India in the Hindustan Review August 19

known only to a few learned scholars. The masses were becoming more and more superstitious and contact with the original inhabitants had led them to adopt the worship of stones, trees and animals. The performance of sacrifice had assumed a great prominence and a large number of animals were slaughtered on the occasion. The various schools of philosophy had their own adherents and as a wide circulation of books that the printing press has now made so easy was then impossible, the popularity of a school depended upon the energy of its adherents, in moving throughout the country and preaching the doctrines of the school to which they belonged. The Yogins were especially numerous and claimed to attain Kaivalya, by their austerities. There were also the ascetics moving from house to house and living on alms and persons contemplating on philosophical problems in the solitude of the forest.

It was in the midst of such a society that Buddha was born. Of the reasons which led him to forsake the pleasures of the palace and to meditate on the problems of life, no reliable account has been preserved but we can well imagine that the noble youth endowed by nature with an inquiring and sympathetic turn of mind was deeply impressed by the state of the society in which he lived and moved. The helpless state to which a man is reduced in his old age, the misery and pangs of disease, the evils of poverty and the knowledge that the whole earthly existence is suffering, led him to reflect if there was not a path recourse to which would enable men to attain an eternal peace of mind. This was a problem which he thought was worth solving and one night when everything around him was enjoying repose

and was steeped in quietude, he left his palace, his wife and child and retired to a forest to attain his object unfettered by social or public ties. He first began to practise the austerities prescribed by the Yoga philosophy in accordance with the advice given to him by two spiritual teachers but as this did not enable him to obtain the desired end, he left the place and travelled first to Magadha and then to Uruvela, identified to be the same as the modern Buddha Gayā. This was a beautiful place, a place admirably fitted for contemplation and he once more began to practise the severest austerities. Once more, he found that these efforts were fruitless and days after days passed without any tangible result till one night, when he was sitting under a tree, since known as the tree of knowledge, the truth flashed upon him, as a result of continuous contemplation that the only way to attain eternal peace was to practise the eight virtues of right belief, right resolve, right speech, right conduct, right occupation, right effort, right contemplation and right concentration.

The full import of these rules of conduct is explained in a work *Dīgha Nikāya* (*Sūtra* 22) which says " the knowledge of misery, the knowledge of the origin of misery, the knowledge of the cessation of misery is called right belief.

" The resolve to renounce sensual pleasures, the resolve to have malice towards none and the resolve to harm no living creature is called right resolve. "

" To abstain from falsehood, to abstain from back biting, to abstain from harsh language, and to abstain from frivolous talk is called right speech. "

“ To abstain from the destruction of life, to abstain from taking that which is not given one, and to abstain from immorality, this is called right behaviour. ”

“ Whenever a noble disciple quitting a wrong occupation gets his livelihood by right occupation, this is called right occupation. ”

“ Whenever a priest purposes, makes an effort, heroically endeavours, applies his mind and exerts himself, that evil and demeritorious qualities already arisen may be abandoned and exerts himself for the preservation, retention, growth, increase, development and perfection of meritorious qualities already arisen, this is called right effort. ”

“ Whenever a priest lives as respect the body, observant of the body, strenuous, conscious, contemplative and has rid himself of lust and grief; as respect sensation observant of sensations, strenuous; as respects the elements of being, observant of the elements of being strenuous, this is called right contemplation. ”

“ Whenever a priest having isolated himself from sensual pleasures, having isolated himself from demeritorious traits, and still exercising reasoning, still exercising reflection enters upon the first trance which is produced by isolation and characterised by joy and happiness; when through the subsidence of reasoning and reflection, and still retaining joy and happiness, he enters upon the second trance which is an interior tranquilisation and intentness of the thoughts and is produced by concentration; when through the paling of joy, indifferent, contemplative conscious and in the experience of bodily happiness that state which eminent men describe when they say ‘ indiffe-

rent, contemplative and living happily', he enters upon the third trance; when through the abandonment of happiness, through the abandonment of misery, through the disappearance of all antecedent gladness and grief, he enters upon the fourth trance which has neither misery nor happiness but is contemplation as refined by indifference, this is called right concentration. +

Such is the teaching of Buddha regarding the way in which a man should conduct himself, the way which would lead him to the abode of eternal bliss and secure for him eternal peace of mind. It differs fundamentally from the teaching of the Upaniṣads and of the Vedānta philosophy, according to which true Mokṣa or salvation is obtained by a knowledge of the identity of Ātman with Brahman and is neither produced by wordly means of knowledge (pratyakṣam, anumānam &c.) nor commanded by the canon of the Vedas, being both rooted in Avidyā and not leading beyond it. It differs from the teaching of the Yoga philosophy which lays down that eternal peace (Kaivalya) is attained by practising severe austerities and by the mortification of the body. The doctrine which it seeks to inculcate and to impress on the mind of all is that righteous living, a life free from vice and ennobled by virtue is the only way to attain final beatitude. That a teaching so simple, which so completely left untouched the questions regarding the creation of the Universe and the Power who guides it, should have become so intensely popular and should have spread from one country to another, shows that the human mind, after all, appreciates and assimilates

simple rules to regulate life more easily and more readily than elaborate rules making minute distinctions, even though they may show a great depth of learning and may be the result of powerful meditation.

Buddha was naturally in raptures when he perceived the full meaning of the truth which he had discovered. "When I apprehended this" he said "and when I beheld this, my soul was released from the evil of desire released from the evils of earthly existence, released from the evil of error, released from the evil of ignorance. In the released, awoke the knowledge of release, extinct is re-birth; finished the sacred course; duty done, no more shall I return to this world; this I knew."

He passed the first seven days under the sacred tree itself and devoted the time to further meditation on the problems of life. It was at this time, that he discovered the twelve nidānas, links in the chain of existence which beginning from ignorance lead to suffering, grief, and distress. Says he, "From ignorance come conformations; from conformations comes consciousness; consciousness produces name and form and name and form produce the sixfold sphere; the sixfold spheres produce contact; contact produces desire; from desire comes clinging (to existence); from clinging (to existence) comes being; from being comes birth, from birth come old age and death, pain and mourning, suffering, sorrow and despair*"

The chain of cause and effect is not unknown in Hindu scriptures for we find in the Bhagavad Gītā, Kṛṣṇa telling Arjuna as follows :—

* Buddha by Oldenburg p. 114.

“ Man meditating on sense objects conceives an attachment therefor ; from attachment ariseth desire ; from desire anger comes forth ; from anger arises delusion, and from delusion confusion of memory, confused memory leads to the destruction of reason, from destruction of reason, he dies. But the disciplined self moving among sense objects, with senses free from attraction and repulsion, mastered by the self goes to peace.” (II. 62 to 64)

We will not pause to consider the question as to whether one of these borrowed these ideas from the other. Suffice it to say that Buddha was naturally influenced by the prevalent philosophical notions and we therefore find him assuming rather than demonstrating, the theory of rebirth which forms such a conspicuous feature of Hindu philosophy. So, also Buddha held like his predecessors that life is suffering, that there can be no real happiness therein and that what we regard as happiness is a mirage, a deception.

Gautama was when he perceived this truth thirty six years old, according to the Buddhist books. After spending seven days at the place, he left it and went to a fig tree. The question now occurred to him if he should preach to the world the truth that was revealed to him. For a time he hesitated, thinking that the world was too much engrossed in sloth and indulgence to care to listen to him but he at last changed his mind and having determined to propagate his faith, went first to Benares. It is difficult to say if he selected the place because of its greatness or because it was the stronghold of Brāhmanism. The Buddhistic books throw no light on the subject, all that they say is that, he went there

because it was the dwelling place of five ascetics who were practising austerities with him at Buddha Gayā and who had regarded him as an abandoned man when he gave up these ascetic practices and struck out a new path for himself. They became converted to his faith and the next converts were Yasa and his family. The number of his adherents steadily increased and their total reached sixty in a short time.

Buddha now made up his mind to utilise the services of his followers by sending them to the different parts of India to propagate his faith with the result that the number of his followers increased still more. His fame even reached the ears of king Bimbisāra, the ruler of Magadha and he became converted to his faith. Two men Sāriputta and Moggalāna* also became his disciples and attained to the first rank after their master.

Strict rules were laid down for regulating the daily course of preachers whom he thus sent out and he himself used to conform to these strictly. These consisted in rising early in the morning and beginning the journey for the next town or village. If it was settled that they should live in the place where they were, it was customary for Buddha to go out with a few select followers, bowl in hand, from house to house, collecting as much as was required for their daily needs. Those who were his admirers used to invite him to dine and he used to utilise the occasion by giving a short lecture regarding his doctrines. If he took his meals at home, he used to expound his teaching to the disciples gathered round him; the noon time was devoted to repose or meditation and in the afternoon, there was

* The body relics, of these were found in excavations at Sānchi
A. S. I. 1918-4 p. 20.

a meeting again, in the open, near some shady tree where the people from the village used to gather, to listen to the great teacher and to request him to solve the doubts entertained by them in religious matters. The meeting was dispersed at night and before going to bed, Gautama used again to give a short lecture to his select followers.

These discourses were brief but they embodied in a terse and forcible language, truths which Buddha was never tired of impressing upon the mind of his followers. Thus, while addressing his disciples on one such occasion Buddha says* :—

I will teach you, O Mendicants, seven conditions of the welfare of a community. Listen well and attend and I will speak.

Even so, Lord, said the brethren in assent, to the Blessed one and he spoke as follows :—

So long, O Mendicants, as the brethren meet together in full and frequent assemblies—so long as they meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out in concord the duties of the order,—so long as the brethren shall establish nothing that has not been already prescribed, and abrogate nothing that has been already established, and act in accordance with the rules of the order as now laid down, so long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and leaders of the order, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words, so long as the brethren fall not under the influence of that craving which springing up within them, would give rise to renewed existence,—so long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude—so long as the

* Mahāparinibbāna Sutta S. B. E, Vol. XI. p. 6

brethren so train their minds that good and holy men shall come to them, and those who have come shall dwell at ease—so long may the brethren may be expected not to decline but to prosper. So long as these seven conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are well instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline but to prosper.

Other seven conditions of welfare, will I teach you O brethren ! Listen well and attend, and I will speak.

And on their expressing their assent he spoke as follows :—

So long as the brethren shall not engage in or be fond of, or be connected with business, so long as the brethren shall not be in the habit of, or be fond of, or be partaker in idle talk, so long as the brethren shall not be addicted to, or be fond of, or indulge in slothfulness,—so long as the brethren shall not frequent or be fond of or indulge in society—so long as the brethren shall neither have nor fall under the influence of sinful desires—so long as the brethren shall not become the friends, companions or intimates of sinners—so long as brethren shall not come to a stop in their way (to Nirvāṇa) because they have attained to any lesser thing—so long the brethren may be expected not to decline but to prosper.

So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline but to prosper.

So long as the brethren shall be full of faith, modest in heart, afraid of sin, full of learning, strong in energy

active in mind and full of wisdom, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline but to prosper.

Discourses like these delivered by a great teacher like Buddha, had a miraculous effect and his fame spread far and wide. The great age to which Buddha lived viz. 80 years further facilitated the propagation of his faith and when he died in the year 480* B. C. the foundation was firmly laid of a religion which was destined to be the religion not of a single people or country but of the greater portion of the civilised world.

A very analytical account of his Nirvāṇa has been preserved in a Sūtra specially devoted to the subject—the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta. It says+ :—

“ Then the blessed one entered into the first stage of deep meditation and rising out of the first-stage, he passed into the second, and rising out of the second, he passed into the third. And rising out of the third stage, he passed into the fourth. And rising out of the fourth stage of deep meditation, he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space, he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought, he entered into a state of mind to which nothing at all was specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object, he fell into a state between consciousness and unconsciousness And passing out of the state between consciousness and

* The exact year according to D. B. Pillai is 478 B. C.—Ind. Ant. XLIII P. 197 and 477 B.C. according to Dr. Charpentier p.174 ibid.

+ S. B. E. XI, 115.

inconsciousness, he fell into a state in which the consciousness both of sensations and ideas had wholly passed away." His body was cremated with all the ceremony which attended the cremation of a Chakravartin and his relics were divided amongst (1) Ajātas'atru the King of Magadha (2) the Licchavis of Vēsālī (3) the Bulis of Allakappa (4) the Koliyas of Rāmagāma (5) Brāhmaṇa of Veṭṭhadīpa (6) the Mallas of Pāvā (7) the Mallas of Kusinārā and (8) lastly, Dona the Brāhmaṇa. One tooth was also consecrated in Gandhāra

Besides the religion founded by Buddha, another religion viz. Jainism flourished in India at the same time and maintained a healthy rivalry with the Brahmanic religion. Comparatively, it was the older of the two, as Mahāvira, the contemporary of Buddha was the 24th Tirthankara, and was thus preceded by twenty three others, the first being Ṛṣabhadeva. Mahāvira was the son of Siddhārtha the chief of the Nāt clan of Kundagrāma, near the city of Vaisālī by his wife Trishalā and became an ascetic in the 31st year. For 12 years, he led a life of austerity and went from place to place preaching the truth of Jainism and acquired the perfect knowledge in his 42nd year. He attained Nirvāṇa at Pāvāpurī, a few miles from modern Behar in 527 B. C according to the Jain authorities but it does not agree with contemporary evidence, the probable date in the light of these facts being 486 or 487 B. C. *

We will now notice, in brief, the effects which the founding of the religions had on the prevalent

* Ind. Ant. (1914) p. 125,

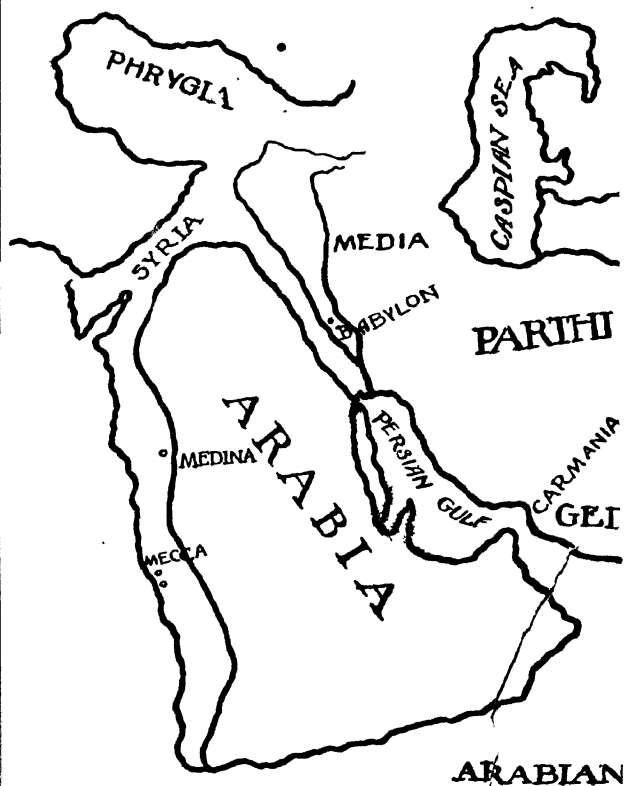
religion and the political conditions of India. That Brahmanism suffered in popularity as a result is not doubted, though owing to the pacific tenour of both the Jain and the Buddhistic faiths, there was no attempt on either side, to propagate it with the aid of the sword, nor were there any unseemly quarrels between their followers as in the Mediæval ages of European History. The number of their adherents consequently depended to a great extent upon royal patronage and Chandragupta, his predecessors the Nandas, and Samprati the grandson of Asoka are stated to be great admirers of the Jain religion while rulers like Asoka and Kaniska favoured Buddhism. As a result both the religions rapidly spread throughout the whole of India as the large number of Buddhistic and Jain inscriptions distributed all over the country testify. The fame of Buddhism spread even beyond its limits and India stood forth as a great civilising agent, which wielded together the heterogeneous elements who inhabited the globe into a homogenous whole. Long before, it was known for the rich variety of its natural products and for its excellent manufactures which commanded a ready sale in the markets of Europe, Africa and Asia, but it had not been equally known for its intellectual advancement. The rise of Buddhism brought out prominently this feature of its civilisation and travellers from distant countries began to visit India as a repository of learning and Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, China and Japan adopted one by one the Buddhistic faith so that India became to them a source of inspiration of all that is great and noble in the human mind.

The death of Buddha, as generally happens, disorganised for a time the system he had founded and the first duty which devolved upon Kās'yapa, the disciple whom Buddha nominated to succeed him, was to define the basis on which further development was to rest. A Council was for the purpose convened in the neighbourhood of Rājagṛha which five hundred monks attended and the Buddhist doctrine having been settled there, it effectually put a stop to all controversy for a period of one hundred years. Then a new party arose, which demanded a change in the rules which imposed upon Buddhist monks certain disabilities. It, for instance, demanded that the rule prohibiting meals after midday, forbidding the use of fermented liquors, prohibiting the performance of the rites of admission into the Buddhist faith in private houses, and the rule which forbade the monks from owing money should be abrogated. It also maintained that salt may be allowed to be carried in a horn for being used in food which was not salted, that one who had finished his meals and refused any more, may be allowed to eat food which has not been left over, if he was going to some other village, that he may be allowed to eat curds after his meals, that a member of the faith may be allowed to do that which his preceptor had done and that a rug or mat if unfringed may be allowed. The changes proposed led to a great controversy but they were formally condemned at a Council held at Vaisālī.* The new party however persisted in

* For a detailed account of the Councils at Rājagṛha and Vaisālī, see Chullavagga, S. B. E. Vol. XX p. 370 and the Mahāvamsā 13-26.

its endeavour and held another Council in which these modifications, were approved. Other differences also arose, so that within the second century of the foundation of the Buddhistic faith, there were five main divisions known as the Mahāsaṅghika Sthavira, Sarvāstivādin and Sammitiya and these were again subdivided into eighteen sects. The difference between them were on comparatively minor points only and related to the preference given by the sects to a particular interpretation of the rules laid down by the great teacher. It did not affect their membership of the religion founded by him nor did it affect the development of the Buddhistic faith, which, as observed above, spread not only over the whole of India but even beyond its confines owing to the fostering care of the able potentates who adopted the religion and laboured for its propagation with untiring zeal. We shall refer to the matter again when describing the reign of these rulers but in the meanwhile, we shall turn our attention to events of great political importance viz, the annexation of Panjab by Darius and the invasion of India by Alexander the Great, and shall also give an account of the political and economical condition of the time.

INDIA AND THE NEIGHBOU



CHAPTER II.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF INDIA IN THE TIME OF BUDDHA,

Northern India was in the time of Buddha divided into four principal kingdoms, one of the most powerful being the kingdom of Magadha having its capital at Rājagṛha. It was about 2300 miles in circumference and comprised 80000 villages. + To its northwest was the kingdom of Kosala, with its capital at Śrāvastī and south of Kosala was the kingdom of the Vatsas with its capital at Kosāmbī. Lastly, there was the kingdom of Avanti, having its capital at Ujjayinī.

The royal families were closely connected by matrimonial alliance, the daughter of Pradyota of Avanti being married to king Udayana of Kosāmbī and Kosala Devī, the sister of king Prasenajit of Kosala being married to Bimbisāra, king of Magadha. The murder of the last mentioned ruler by his son Ajātasātru led to a war between him and his uncle who promptly seized the town of Kāśī which had been given to Kosala Devī at the time of her marriage. Ajātasātru tried to recover the place and was at first successful but he was subsequently taken prisoner and forced to relinquish his claim. The two rulers then became reconciled and the king of Kosala marked the event by giving his daughter in marriage to Ajātasātru and the town of Kāśī.

King Prasenajit was a ruler of great ability. Educated at the celebrated seat of learning, Takṣasīlā, he

+ The Mahāvagga S. B. E. XVII. p. 179.

proved a wise ruler zealous in the discharge of his administrative duties and a staunch supporter of Buddhism. King Pradyota was also a follower of that faith, though at first he persecuted a Buddhist teacher named Piṇḍola as he was the cause of some of his women folk, leaving him when he was asleep, to listen to his religious discourse. Ajātasātru was of a more inquiring nature for he is in one Suttanta, the Samanna Phala described as having adopted that faith only after going to Buddha and inquiring personally of him the benefits that would accrue to him on his becoming a member of the Buddhistic order. When Buddha died, he claimed a portion of his relics and built a stūpa over the place where these were deposited.

Besides the kingdoms mentioned above, there were a number of other States more or less republican in their constitution. The chief of these were the Vajjians comprising eight confederate clans of whom the Licchhavis and the Videhas were the most important. To their north lay the independent clans of the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā. The Āṅgas, having their capital at Champā near modern Bhāgalpur were settled in the country east of Magadha to which they were subject, and the Chedis were settled in the mountains of Nepāl. Further west, there were the Kurus of Mahābhārata fame occupying the country close to modern Delhi and had the Pāñchālas to their east and the Matsyas to the south. The Assakas were settled on the banks of the Godāvarī and the Sūrasenas at Mathurā. Still further to the west, there was the famous kingdom of Gandhāra comprising the eastern Afghānistān and some portion of the Panjāb as also the country of the Kāmbojas, there

being in all sixteen states of more or less importance to the north of the Narmadā *

The village system formed the basis of administration, its affairs being regulated by the village headman, who was as a rule appointed by the people of the village, though in some cases, he was also appointed by the king. He wielded great powers, and used to make a lot of money, not only from the fines, the people paid, but also from the price of drinks. × When an officer of the king visited a place, the village provided him with all the necessaries required to make his stay comfortable. The villages also looked to the repairing of the roads leading to the villages in the neighbourhood and constructed rest houses for the travellers. Tanks too were provided by the village people and we have a reference in Jātaka 1-31 to a large hall built at the meeting of four highways having a wall with a gate on all its sides, the space between being strewn with sand and planted with a row of fan palms outside. It had also a water tank, “ provided with four kind of lotuses beautiful to behold ” and a pleasure garden and “ there was no flowering or fruit bearing tree which did not grow there. ”

The population of the village varied but a reference in Jātaka I. 31 to thirty families residing in a village belonging to the king of Magadha may well be taken as giving the average. The houses therein were all close together separated only by narrow lanes. On the outskirts was the sacred grove of trees, and beyond it the cultivated lands growing almost the same crops as they

* Vinaya Texts, 2-146.

× The Jātakas. 1.78

grow now. Many villages owned cattle and these grazed on the common pasture ground, being led out of the village under the care of the village herdsman but no individual was allowed to exercise any proprietary rights in the village. The field boundaries were marked by earthen embankments which also served to keep water from flowing away.

Of the life in the city, we have a graphic description when we are told that it resounded both by day and night with ten cries* viz the noise of the elephant the noise of horses and the noise of chariots; the sound of the tabor of the drum and of the lute; the sound of the cymbal, of the song and of singing and lastly, with the cry 'Eat, drink and be merry'. The houses were made of brick and wood and the bricks were finely plastered with chulam and painted in fresco with figures or patterns* The names of four of these have been preserved and are designated "Wreath-work" "Creeper work" "Fine-ribbon work" and "Dragons' tooth work",

Agriculture was the chief source of livelihood but a fair portion earned their livelihood by art and handicraft. Chief amongst these were carpenters, concerned with the building of houses, shops and vehicles (2) the workers in metal manufacturing ploughshares axes, saws, knives and needles (3) gold and silver smiths (4) the weavers who manufactured cloth required both for home consumption and export (5) the workers in stone who carved pillars and bas-reliefs (6) ivory workers, (7) jewellers and (8) the dyers. There was also the important class of sailors engaged chiefly in river ship-

+ Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (S. B. E. XI p. 100)

* The Vinaya Texts 3. 170. 172.

ping but who performed sea voyages too, to judge from the fact that there is reference to sea voyages out of the sight of land, lasting six months, made in ships which can be drawn up on shore, in the winter. Later texts of about the third century B. C. speak of voyages down the Ganges from Benares to the mouth of the river and thence across the Indian Ocean to the Burmese coast and from Bharukachchha round cape Comorin to the same place. Trade with Babylon was also carried on by sea.

Of the architecture of time, the Piprahwa stūpa on the Nepal frontier assigned to 450 B. C. affords a good illustration. It is a solid cupola or domed mass of brick work 116 feet in diameter at the base and about 22 feet high and contained in its midst a massive stone coffer in which relics of the body of Buddha were enshrined by his tribesmen the Sākya. "The masonry of the stūpa, says Mr. Vincent Smith,* is excellent of its kind, well and truly laid; the great sand-stone coffer could not be better made and the ornaments of gold, silver, coral, crystal and precious stones which were deposited in honour of the holy relics display a high degree of skill"

A notable feature of the times was the hot air-baths. They were built on an elevated basement faced with bricks or stones, with stone steps upto it and a railing round the verandah. The roofs and walls were of wood covered first with skins and then with plaster, the lower part only of the wall being faced with bricks. There was an antechamber, a hot room and a pool to

* Imperial Gazetteer Vol. II. P. 102 + Buddhist India (Story of the Nations series) P. 74. Vinaya Texts III 104-110

bathe in. Seats were arranged round a fire place in the middle of the hot-room; and to induce perspiration hot water was then poured over the bathers whose faces were covered with scented chunam. After the bath there was shampooing and then a plunge into the pools. There were also open air bathing tanks with flight of steps leading down into it, faced entirely with stone and ornamented with flowers. Some of these baths still exist at Anurādhapura in a fair state of preservation, although more than two thousand years have elapsed since their construction.

Another notable feature of the times was the formation of guilds of tradesmen and artizans. These were so well established, that it was through them that the king used to approach the people whenever he had occasion to consult them. In case of disputes, the Mahā-Setthi, who possibly corresponded to the modern Nagar Sheth had the power to decide.

Judging from the references in the Jātakas, trade was carried on, on an extensive scale. Thus we have a reference to a caravan consisting of 500 carts and to a horse dealer having 500 horses to sell. Benares said to be twelve leagues or 85 miles in extent * and having suburbs covering an area 25 times as large was one of the greatest centres of trade. Rājagṛha the capital of Magadha was another important city and consisted of two sections one called Girivraja and consisting of a hill fortress and a latter one built by Bimbisāra, the fortifications of which $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 miles in circumference are still extant, in a ruined state. Kos'āmbī, the capital of the

* The Jātakas I. p. 22.

Vatsas 30 leagues or 230 miles by river from Benares is frequently mentioned as one of the six great cities of the time and was a central place for goods and passengers coming to Kosala and Magadha from the south and west. A city named Roruka is mentioned as an important centre of the coasting trade but it is difficult to identify it at present. Two other important cities were Śrāvastī forty five leagues northwest of Rājagṛha, and Sāketa for some time, 'the capital of Kosala. Ujjayinī was another great city though it had not yet attained to that unique position which it attained in later times.

These cities were connected by good roads, chief amongst these being the road from Śrāvastī to Pratiṣthāna, the stages being Māhissatī, Ujjayinī, Gonaddha Vedisa, Kos'āmbi and Sāketa. Another road led from the north to the south east. It ran along the foot of the mountains to a point north of Vais'ālī and then turned south to the Ganges, the halting places being Setavya Kapilavastu, Kusinārā, Pāvā, Hattigāma, Bhandgāma, Vaisālī, Pātaliputra and Nālanda. From east to west, the main route lay along the river Ganges as far west as Sahajāti and along the Yamunā as far west as Kos'āmbī. Burma was reached from near the mouth of the Ganges either by land along the coast or by ships. There were also roads from Videha to Gandhāra and from Magadha to Sovīra. A very faithful description of the Rajputāna desert is given in one of the Jātaka tales, which describes it as a sandy wilderness, sixty leagues across, the sand of which was so fine that when grasped, it slipped through the fingers of the closed fist. As soon as the sun rose it grew as hot as a bed of charcoal embers and nobody could walk upon it. Accordingly those travelling by

it, used to take firewood, water, rice and so forth in their carts and only travelled by night. At dawn, they used to arrange their carts to form a laager, with an awning spread overhead and after an early meal, used to sit in the shade all along. * When the sun went down, they had an evening meal and as soon as the ground become cool they used to yoke their carts and to move forward. Travelling in this desert was like voyage in the sea and a desert pilot as he was called had to convoy them over by the knowledge of the stars. +

Such stray references as are found in the Buddhist books show that the rich people lived in great style. Thus in the *Mahāvagga* V. 13, we have a reference to the son of a wealthy man who was so delicately nurtured and who was so little accustomed to walk that hairs grew on the sole of his feet. In another place * we are told that the son of a rich man had three palaces, one for winter, one for summer, and one for the rainy season. Sacrifice was still celebrated with so much pomp that men from the neighbouring places used to flock on the occasion. In the matter of dress, great attention was paid to finery and the slippers used were of a red, brown, black, orange, yellow or partridge colour and ornamented with gold, silver, pearls or beryl. Shoes made of various kinds of grasses were also in vogue and foot coverings were made of Talipot leaves.

Luxury paves the way to profligacy and sons of rich men used to pass all their time in their rich dwellings surrounded by female musicians. These were not stray cases for we are told that the city of Vaisāli

+ *Jātakas* I. p. 10.

* *S. B. E.* XIII, p. 102.

which contained seven thousand seven hundred and seven houses became more and more flourishing account of a courtesan Ambapālī and its example followed by Rājagṛha whose people installed a Sālavatī by name who was "beautiful, graceful plea and gifted with the highest beauty of complexion".†

The prosperity and even the profligacy which v. at this period conspicuous in every important city of the time was evidently the result of India's resources having been completely developed owing to the immunity from foreign aggression which the people had so long enjoyed. But of this, there was soon an end, and Darius the Persian monarch and Alexander, the greatest military genius of his time, having turned their attention to India and included it in their scheme of conquest, India became prone to successive attacks from foreign invaders. The struggle which the native rulers of the time waged with them, sometimes succeeding, and sometimes falling forms the most fascinating feature of Indian history and to this, we now turn our attention.

† S. B. E. XVII P. 171.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONQUEST OF PUNJAB BY DARIUS AND THE INVASION OF INDIA BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

When the great Persian monarch Darius, the son of Hystaspes, in pursuance of his scheme to establish a vast empire turned his attention to India, it was, as we saw in the preceding chapter, divided north of the Narmadā into sixteen states, extending from Gandhāra on the extreme northwest of Punjāb to Avanti or Mālwa, having its capital at Ujjain.

As might be expected, owing to there being no central power to organise the resources and activities of these various states, a foreign ruler having the fame of his conquests behind him found no difficulty in bringing them under his sway, one by one. To such a class of rulers did Darius belong, his vast kingdom consisting of no less than twenty satrapies, each administered by a satrap appointed by him by selection. The details of the expedition which added Punjāb to his empire are meagre; all that is known is that he despatched at some date later than 516 B. C. his commander Skylax to ascertain the feasibility of a passage by sea from the mouth of the Indus to Persia and he succeeded in equipping a fleet which starting from a tributary of the Indus in the Gandhāra country made its way down the river to the ocean and thence to the Red Sea. Darius utilised the information thus obtained, and the Indus Valley was attached to his vast kingdom and included

in the twentieth Satrapy (Herodotus Book III. 94). The province even in that distant period was rich and fertile, as may be inferred from the fact that a tribute of 185 hundredweights of gold dust, worth fully a million sterling was settled to be paid by it.

Of the events which happened after the death of Darius, no account has been preserved in the Persian inscriptions, which are our chief source of information on the subject. Nor is there any mention of these in the Purāṇas or the Buddhistic annals. In fact, these books do not even refer to the annexation of Punjab by Darius and are therefore naturally silent as to what happened after his death. The Purāṇas, however, continuing the narrative of the Indian rulers from Ajātas'atru observe as follows :--

"His son will be Darbhaka ; his son will be Udayās'va his son will also be Nandivardhana, and his son will be Mahānandin. These ten Śais'unāgas will be kings of the earth for three hundred and sixty two years".

"The son of Mahānandin will be born of a woman of the Śūdra class : his name will be Nanda called Mahā padma, for he will be exceedingly avaricious. Like another Paras'urāma he will be the annihilator of the Kṣatriya race: for after him the kings of the earth will be Śūdras. He will bring the whole earth under one umbrella: he will have eight sons Sumālya and others, who will reign after Mahāpadma and he and his sons will govern for a hundred years. The Brahmins Kaṭilya will root out the nine Nandas".

Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas will possess the earth for Kaṭilya will place Chandragupta on the throne".x

As Ajātas'atru is said to have reigned for twenty-five years in the Vāyu Purāṇa and Buddha died in the eighth year of his reign, Ajātas'atru's death must be placed 17 years after the death of Buddha, that is, in the year 462 B. C. There is, however, great confusion in the Purāṇas regarding the length of the reign of his successors. The Vāyu Purāṇa gives 23, 25, 42 and 43 years for the reign of the rulers from Darbhaka to Mahānandin. If we supplement this by the information given in all the Purāṇas that Mahāpadma and his eight sons ruled for 100 years, the total of the reigns of the successors of Ajātas'atru comes to 233 years and the date of Chandragupta's accession, who succeeded the Nandas will be 228 B. C. Contemporary evidence however leads to a different conclusion for Chandragupta is said in Plutarch's life of Alexander to have met Alexander in his camp at the time of his invasion of India (327 B. C.) and again Seleukos sent Megasthenes as his ambassador to the court in 302 B. C. Possibly, therefore, the nine Nandas whose power Chandragupta exterminated and who are said to have ruled for 100 years include Nandivardhana and Mahānandin, the grandfather and father of Nanda Mahāpadma, both of whom would, in short, be styled Nandas and if this view be accepted, Mahāpadma and his sons must have ruled for 15 years, the reigns of 10 of his predecessors having occupied 85 years according to the Purāṇas. The date of Chandragupta's accession would then be 314 B. C. the date which Max Müller fixed for the event from independent sources. × (S. B. E. X. xxxviii).

× See also Ind. Ant. 1914 p. 167, and the Ancient History of Magadha by S. V. Aiyar Ind. Ant. (1915) p. 41.

Nanda called Dhana Nanda in the Buddhist Chronicles was extremely avaricious and they give a detailed account of his greed for money. He it is said, levied taxes on skins, gums, trees, stones, etc. and hoarded up money to the extent of eighty koties. He next diverted the waters of the Ganges by a dam and scooping a hole in the rock of the river large enough to contain all the money, he deposited his wealth there and sealed it with molten lead. He was also a ruler of limitless ambition and having determined to bring the whole of India under his sway, he reduced one king after another to subjection chief amongst them being the Aikṣavākus, Pāñchālas, Kauravyas, Haihayas, Kālakas, Ekalingas, Śūrasenas, Maithilas etc.

The effect of these wars was disastrous for the Purāṇas agree in stating that they led to the extermination of the Kṣatriya race,* a remark which is amply borne out by the fact that all the dynasties of note which rose to eminence after the Nandas, e. g. the Mauryas, the Āndhrabhṛtyas and the Guptas were of the Śūdra class.

India was thus ruined by continued warfare when Alexander the Great appeared on its borders. The mighty conqueror had in the course of his victorious march, conquered the provinces of Egypt, Phrygia, Media, Babylon, Sousiana and Bactria and after subjugating the tribes which lived along the spurs of the Hindukush began to clear systematically the way to the Indian frontier. It is difficult to follow his progress accurately owing to the transformation of the names of places and tribes subjugated by him, but we may

*Ch. XXXVII §10. 28.

say with some degree of certainty that Nysa situated at the confluence of the Kūnar and the Kubha or the Kābul river was the first city to which he turned. According to tradition, it was founded by Dionysius and as its ruler Akouphis (Sk. Akubhi) advanced together with his thirty followers to make his submission, he observed as follows:—

“ The Nysaeans entreat you, O king, to permit them to be still free and to be governed by their own laws from reverence towards Dionysos ; for when Dionysos after conquering the Indian nation was returning to the shores of Greece, he founded with his war worn soldiers who were also his bacchanals, this very city to be a memorial to posterity of his wanderings and his victory, just as you have founded yourself one Alexandria near Kaukasos and another Alexandria in the land of the Egyptians, not to speak of many others, some of which you have already founded, while others will follow in the course of time just as your achievements exceed in number those displayed by Dionysos. Now Dionysos called your city Nysa and our land Nysain after the name of his nurse Nysa, and he besides gave to the mountain, which lies near the city the name of Meros, because according to the legend he grew before his birth in the thigh of Zeus. And from this time forth, we inhabit Nysa as a free city and are governed by our own laws and are a well ordered community. But that Dionysos was our founder, take this as a proof that Ivy which grows nowhere else in the land of the Indians grows with us. ”

Alexander granted his wish and having now obtained a basis from which he could operate with advantage, sent

emissaries to demand subjection of the chief of Taxila, living on the other side of the Indus. He was a powerful ruler but there is reason to believe that there were some internal troubles so that instead of offering any opposition he tendered his submission to him. In the meanwhile, Alexander despatched one of his generals to subjugate Hastes (Sl. Hasti), prince of the land of Peukelaotis (Sk. Pushkalāvati) the western capital of Gandhāra and identified to be the same as Hastanagarx in the Chārsadda Tehsil of the Peshāwar District—about seventeen miles north of Peshāwar while he himself advanced to the country of the Aspasiāns and Gourians. Hastes was compelled to submit but the latter campaign did not begin successfully for a well aimed arrow struck Alexander on his shoulder and had it not been for the breastplate which protected him, the result would have been fatal. Ptolemy, the son of Lagos and Leonnatos, two other generals who accompanied him were also wounded but these unexpected incidents instead of damping the spirit of Alexander, spurred him on to a more courageous effort and he succeeded at last in inflicting a crushing defeat on his enemy. Every man that fell into the hands of the Macedonians was put to death and the city itself razed to the ground.

Alexander now made preparations to advance but the Aspasiāns, gathered in great strength, made another attempt to inflict a check upon him. They were however unsuccessful once more and according to Ptolemy, Alexander captured 40000 prisoners and 230,000 oxen. He then resumed his victorious march

and passing through the country of the Gourians reached the country of the Assakenoi who opposed him with an army of 20000 cavalry and 30000 infantry. They however soon perceived that it was a fruitless task to oppose Alexander and took refuge in their fortified cities, followed by him.

He first turned his attention to the city of Massaga which according to Strabo was the capital of the king of the Assakenoi and which Arrian calls the greatest city in that part of India. The city offered him stubborn resistance and Alexander was once more wounded-this time in the thigh but after a battle which lasted consecutively for four days, the city was taken.

Alexander next took Ora which formed part of the territory of a king named Abhisares and the chief of the mountainous tribes on that side, and from thence advanced to take Bazira. When however he reached the place he was informed that the army defending the place had taken refuge on a rock known as Aornos, having a circumference of 200 stadia, a height of eleven stadia and only one path of access. It was thus almost impregnable but Alexander fired with the ambition of capturing such an important position, determined to carry it by storm and despatching Ptolemy, the son of Lagos to occupy a position of vantage led the rest of the army himself. The Indian army lost heart and seeing that it would be fruitless to prevent Alexander from taking the place, its defenders had recourse to a subterfuge. They offered to capitulate and taking advantage of the time they thus got, evacuated the fort at night fall and fled.

Alexander was however on his guard and the moment their intentions became clear gave orders for their pursuit. It was carried out with relentless fury and a large number of the garrison defending the place were slain. Others became so terrified that they threw themselves down from the precipice and were dashed to pieces.

A city called Orobates was next taken and as he advanced to the Indus, he received the submission of the ruler of Peukelaotis mentioned above ; some other places were taken and his main Indian campaign now began.

Chronology of events connected with Buddha and the Nanda dynasty.

Date.	Event.	Remark.
560 B. C. 524 487	Birth of Gautama. Gautama's Buddhahood. Accession of Ajātaśatru.	B. C. 487-462 (25 year-V.) : 27 (M)
486* 462	Buddha's Nirvāṇa. Accession of Darbhaka.	B. C. 462-437 (25 years-V.) : 24 (M)
438	„ Udayaśva.	B. C. 437-414 (23 year Brahmāṇḍa P)
414	„ Nandivardhana.	B. C. 414-372 (42 years-V) 40 (M)
372	„ Maṭānandin.	B. C. 372-329 (43 years- V and M)
329 *27-5 314	„ Nanda. Alexander's campaign. Accession of Chandragu- pta	B. C. 329-314 B. C. 314-290 : (24 years)
290 265 261† 229	„ Bindusāra. „ Aśoka. Coronation of Aśoka. Death of Aśoka.	B. C. 290-265 (25 years)

* Buddha's Nirvāṇa took place when he was eighty years.
(Mahāparinibbāna Sutta V. 62)

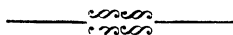
§ Aśoka reigned for four years before his coronation took place.
(Dipavaṃśa VI 21-2; Mahāvaṃśa V. 22.)

† He was consecrated 218 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha
Dipavaṃśa 8-1 : Mahāvaṃśa 5-21)

V = Vāyu Purāṇa : M = Matsya Purāṇa These dates are
based on the year of Buddha's Nirvāṇa. It is according to D. B.
Pillai 478 B. C. and according to Charpentier 477 B. C. See Ind. Ant.
XLIII.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INDIAN CAMPAIGN OF ALEXANDER.



The point at which Alexander crossed the Indus, has not been definitely settled. It is generally believed that he crossed it at Attack by means of a bridge of boats but opinion is not unanimous on the subject, M. Foucher being of opinion that he must have crossed it some sixteen miles above at Ohind or Uind. Amphis who had succeeded to the throne of Taxilā on the death of his father made his obeisance to Alexander and presented him with 30 elephants, 300 oxen, 10000 sheep and 200 talents of silver. The hill chieftain of Abhisāra also tendered his homage and Alexander invited Porus to come to him and submit but the latter proudly refused saying that he would of course go to meet him but at the head of an army ready for battle.

Alexander consequently began to make preparations for a battle and gave orders for a reconnaissance to be made to ascertain the point at which it was possible to cross the river Hydaspes (Jhelum). In the meantime, he kept his army moving from place to place, so that Porus who was encamped on the other side of the river with all his army and his splendid array of elephants may be at a loss to understand the point at which the main attack will be delivered. Porus had however anticipated these tactics and consequently while he kept the major portion of his army just opposite the place where Alexander was encamped kept sentries at all places

where he thought it was possible to cross the river. Some time was therefore lost before the point of vantage was found but at last Alexander who was making the reconnaissance in person found that there was at one point of the river, a precipitous high cliff, opposite to which was a large tract of land overgrown with trees. Alexander determined to cross the river at this place and brought over there, with great secrecy, the major portion of his army consisting of 5000 cavalry and 12000 infantry, leaving his general Krateros at the place where he was first encamped, with instructions not to cross the river until Porus moved to fight, where Alexander was, with all his elephants or was fleeing from the field ; for, Alexander rightly concluded that if Krateros were to attempt to cross the river when the elephants were still standing in battle array, the horses of the cavalry would take fright at their mere sight and thus impede seriously the advance of the army.

The bulk of the army marched accordingly to the position assigned to them but when he reached the place, Alexander found to his surprise that on the other side of the island, the river was full of water. He however found to his relief that it was not too deep, and that it would not be difficult for horses to cross it, if Porus did not arrive in time to oppose the attempt. Consequently, without losing any time, Alexander gave orders to make the attempt and he was on the point of accomplishing his purpose quite safely, when the son of Porus arrived at the place with an army of 2000 men and 120 chariots to obstruct his path. A battle ensued and according to some authors, Alexander was wounded and his favourite horse Boukephalos was

killed. The army that had landed before the son of Porus arrived, however, defeated the latter and he lay dead on the field of battle with 400 of his men.

The sad news of his son's death reached Porus and without losing any time, he hastened to the spot where the incident had happened with an army of 200 elephants, 30000 infantry, 4000 cavalry and 300 chariots and at once arranged his army in battle array. The infantry formed the centre and the elephants were placed at regular intervals in front of the first line with the cavalry and chariots on the flanks. Alexander seeing that it was not advisable to attack the whole front as his opponent's army was numerically superior, concentrated his attack on the left of the enemy's line. The cavalry on the right was despatched by Porus to their assistance but before they could reach the spot, Alexander ordered two of his own regiments to dash along the right side of Porus' army and attack the left from the rear. They performed the task allotted to them with complete success so that the army of Porus was taken by surprise and great confusion ensued. Alexander thereupon gave prompt orders to attack the centre and the tide of success turned completely in his favour for, the elephants got frightened and in spite of the best efforts of their drivers to control their movements, became uncontrollable and began to run about wildly, tramping a number of men belonging to their own army. Porus tried his best to save the situation with characteristic heroism and as Arrian quite truly observes "did not after the manner of Darius, the great king, abandon the field and show his men the first example of flight; but on the contrary

fought on as long as he saw any Indian maintaining the contest " *He was however wounded at last in his right shoulder, which was the only part of his body that was not protected by an armour, and the brave king whirling round fell on the field of battle and was immediately taken a captive before his mighty adversary.*

With a magnanimity which characterised him in all his dealings with a fallen foe, Alexander rode forward in front of his camp to meet the royal prisoner and his eyes were filled with admiration as he saw the handsome appearance and the majestic stature of Porus. " How shall I treat you " asked Alexander, " Treat me, O Alexander, as befits a King " was the reply. " I shall do so for my own sake " said Alexander, " but ask some other boon " " In what I have asked, everything is included " the captive king replied, a reply which so much pleased Alexander that he not only restored to Porus, his own territory but added to it some other which he had won.

The most powerful ruler in this part of India having been subdued, the task of subjugating the neighbouring rulers was comparatively easy and a king named Porus, supposed to be the nephew of the elder Porus who was ruling at Gandaris and a tribe named Glausai or Glaukani-kai was subdued. Alexander next crossed the Akesines (Chenāb) and then the river Hydraotes (Ravi). A town named Pimprana belonging to a tribe called Adraistai capitulated and another named Sangala where a tribe viz Kathaioi sought to stem the tide of conquest was taken by storm and razed to the ground.

Only one river, the Biās, (the Hyphasis) of the Greeks remained to be crossed and Alexander determined to do so, when a murmur of discontent arose amongst his troops, who had hitherto followed him with alacrity and won for him splendid successes. They had, they complained, strayed away too much from their homes. A number of their comrades were slain on the field of battle and they obtained with great difficulty the necessities of life; they therefore earnestly begged permission to be allowed to return to their home and be once more in their native land. Alexander was, of course, taken aback and tried to revive their drooping spirits by an eloquent speech in which he praised their great exploits, the victories they had achieved and the nations they had conquered; but his efforts failed to rouse any enthusiasm in their depressed hearts and seeing that it was useless to force his wish on the army he sullenly gave them orders to retrace their steps. The arrangement was that a force of 8000 men including a large proportion of mounted troops should be embarked in the fleet, while the rest of the army consisting of about 120000 men marched in two corps along the banks.

A detailed account of the tribes he subjugated and the towns he captured has been preserved to us but it is difficult to identify the people or the places and the difficulty is considerably enhanced by the fact that the rivers of the Punjab have changed their course. We have therefore to content ourselves with a bare outline of events without making any attempt to locate the places.

The first river he recrossed was, of course, the Hydraotes or the Ravi and no event of any importance

occurred till it was crossed. When, however, he reached the place where the Hydraotes or Ravi joins the Akesines (Chinab) a number of tribes dwelling at the place viz. the Siboi, the Agalassoi and the Malloi had to be dealt with. The Siboi submitted but the Agalassoi having collected an army of 40000 foot and 3000 horse opposed his path and were defeated. Still unsubdued, they made a bold attempt to thwart him at another place but suffered a fresh defeat and having thus realised that it was impossible for them to check the great conqueror, they set fire to the town and cast themselves with their wives and children into the flames.

Alexander's troubles however did not end here for other tribes residing in the neighbourhood rose against him viz. the Malloi (the Mālavas) and the Oxydrakai (Ksudrakas) their army consisting of 80000 infantry, 10000 cavalry and 200 chariots. Though his army frightened on account of the great strength of their enemy was reluctant to follow him and was about to mutiny again, Alexander averted the crisis by his tactfulness and fell upon one of the tribes viz. the Malloi before they could formulate a joint plan and inflicted on them a crushing defeat and being exasperated on account of the difficulties which the Indian tribes were raising on his way back put to sword the whole army, killing even persons who were working unarmed in the fields. The unfortunate people seized by panic fled to the rivers and tried to conceal themselves behind the river rushes, but his soldiers tracked them out with relentless energy and put them to the sword.

There was only one recourse open to the Malloi; they fled to east bank of the river and took refuge in

"a town inhabited by Brāhmaṇas but Alexander pursued them hotly and laid siege to the town. It was gallantly defended but it was taken at last and about 5000 men in all were killed and as they were men of spirit, very few were taken prisoners." •

It might have been expected that the Malloi would submit to Alexander at least now, but the brave people contested every inch of ground, and the bulk of them having succeeded in recrossing the Hydraotes, tried to check Alexander's advance with an army 50,000 men. Once more, the genius of Alexander proved equal to the occasion and the Malloi had to retrace their steps to a fortified town whose exact position has not been identified but is supposed to be on the boundary of Jhang and Montgomery districts. * A thrilling incident occurred here for Alexander eager to infuse spirit into his troops made a brave attempt to scale the walls by placing a ladder against them himself. He was marked out by his bright and glistening armour and a well aimed arrow struck him on his chest and he fell down on the ground. It was a critical moment but one of his generals with admirable devotion bestrided him and protected him from further attacks by holding his shield over him, while another general though wounded himself, assisted him in his arduous task. At last his troops rallied to Alexander's assistance and he was saved, the arrow having been extracted in a somewhat unskilful way, which would have resulted in the death of a man of a frame less strong than that of Alexander. The town was now taken, and the inhabitants of the place had to pay the full penalty

* See Early History of India by V. A. Smith. p. 96.

for the remarkable incident by all its men, women and children being slain without any discrimination.

The few Malloi who were left made their submission and the Oxydrakai convinced that further resistance was hopeless, tendered their homage and sent to Alexander valuable gifts through envoys who are described as "dignified men, of uncommon stature, clad in purple and gold and riding in chariots." The presents they offered was in keeping with their position and consisted of 1030 four-horsed chariots, 1000 bucklers of native manufacture, 100 talents of steel, great store of cotton goods, a quantity of tortoise shells, skins of large lizards, with tame lions and tigers.

The march was now resumed and having appointed Phillipos to be the Satrap of the conquered provinces, Alexander reached the confluence of the Indus with the other rivers of the Panjāb. A number of tribes called Abastanoi, Xathroi, and Ossadioi submitted to him as also tribes called Malli and Sabarcae, the last of which is described as having a democratic form of Government having no king. Alexander next advanced to the country of a king called Mousikanos, who at first submitted to him but later on changed his mind and took up arms against Alexander with the result that it cost him his life. A graphic account of the people over whom the king ruled, has been preserved by Arrian who says that they attained the age one hundred and thirty years, and although their country possessed mines of gold and silver, refused to make use of either metal. Unlike the Indians, they kept no slaves employing in their stead young men in the flower of their youth, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotai and the Lacædemonians, the Helots. They also resembled the Lacædemonians in

observing the custom of a public meal, at which the food served was the produce of the chase. They declined to study any science save that of medicine and were reported to have no system of civil law, the jurisdiction of the courts being confined to cases of murder and other violent crime.*

A chief named Oxykanos was next subdued and his two principal cities sacked. Another chieftain, viz. Sambos having his capital at Sindimana tendered his submission, but certain Brāhmaṇas who were staying in his court tried to stir up the people against the invader and being unsuccessful were put to death. The sacking of cities, the well contested battles and the frequent slaughter of even unarmed citizens, greatly increased the toll of death of the southern campaign and it is said to have reached the huge total of 80000.

Alexander had now reached the final stage of his victorious campaign and halted at Pātāla, supposed to be the same as Bahmanābād. Seeing that it was admirably fitted to be a great emporium of trade, he ordered one of his ablest generals to construct a great citadel at the place, and proceeding further to the south, he gave orders to Nearchos to sail round the coast into the Persian Gulf with his fleet while he himself proceeded to march by land with the bulk of his army through Gedrosia (Mekran) to Persia and Babylon, after a memorable campaign which lasted for full two years and a quarter.

As regards its result, it added the vast and fertile territory round the Indus and the five rivers of the Panjāb to the vast conquests of Alexander. He evi-

* Onesikrites quoted by Strabo gives a similar description. See Mac Grindle's *Ancient India* p. 41.

dently intended that it should form a permanent addition to the Macedonian empire-the care with which he used to mark out places of strategical importance and with which he used to fortify them are indubitable proof of his intention-but there he did not succeed; for, his death took place within a short time of his return from India and the magnificent empire he had won with his genius and his sword was parcelled out among his generals who were unable to hold it long. The major portion of his Indian conquests was the first to be wrested away from their hands by the Maurya king Chandragupta, though the Greeks continued to rule over a small portion of the territory on the north western frontier until they were dispossessed by Kadphises I.

But if Alexander did not succeed in establishing a permanent empire himself, he paved the way for those generals whose ambition prompted them to carve out a kingdom for themselves in India by demonstrating that it was not impossible to cross the lofty mountains and the mighty rivers which appeared to be designed by nature to ward off its invaders. Again, the graphic account which the literary men who accompanied Alexander gave to the Western nations, of its people, its riches, its diverse fauna and flora and its inexhaustible mineral resources, drew to it the attention of Europe to whom it was hitherto a sealed country. The result was that India which pent up within its natural boundaries was till then leading an independent life, secure from the influence of its neighbours, began now to come into contact with foreign nations who were destined to play an important part in shaping its future.

The result of the intercourse was however not one sided for while it gave to the western nations a know-

ledge of India, it made India acquainted with western civilization and culture. How far it affected Indian thought and Indian art has however not been definitely settled. Western scholars are of opinion that India owes much to Greece in the sphere of architecture, drama and astronomy. Thus, General Cunningham in Vol. V of his *Archæological Survey of India* speaks of three Indo-Grecian styles, of which the Ionic prevailed in Taxila, the Corinthian in Gandhāra and the Dorian in Kashmir. This view is however combated by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra in his work the *Antiquities of Orissa*—he being strongly of opinion that there is no trace of Greek influence in Indian architecture. Opinion is more unanimous regarding the Greek influence in the matter of astronomy and drama but it would be out of place to discuss the question at length at this stage. We will have occasion to do so, when treating of the Bactrian Greek rule in India.

Lastly, there is one more distinguishing feature of Alexander's campaign. As we have seen, the *Purāṇas* the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* give elaborate lists of the various dynasties who ruled in India but their utility is very much lessened owing to the utter absence of chronology. As however the date of Alexander's Indian campaign is definitely known, it forms an important landmark which has proved of incalculable advantage in fixing the date of the events which immediately preceded and followed the event. It is not that their dates could be definitely fixed; for, there are a number of cases where there is an acute controversy but these differences are slight when compared with those which mark the period preceding the invasion of Alexander.

CHAPTER V.

THE MAURYAN DYNASTY B. C. 314 TO B. C. 177.

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Chandragupta, the young prince who, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, drove away the Greeks from India was according to the Purāṇas, a son by a Śūdra wife of the last of the Nandas whom he displaced. From the brief notice which we have about the reign of the last mentioned king, it appears that his rule was marked by an avaricious policy which made him very unpopular and Chandragupta who had received his training at the hands of Chāṇakya, the Indian Machiavelli seized the opportunity to wrest the throne from him and eminently succeeded in his efforts with the assistance of his able preceptor. The success was, however, not easily achieved for the chief minister of the Nandas known as the Amātya, true to his master, made a determined attempt to thwart his designs. He first took up the cause of another near relation of the Nandas, but the latter proved unequal to the occasion and Chandragupta together with his ally Parvataka, the ruler of the region between the Rāpti and Gaṇḍaki took Pāṭaliputra (the Modern Patna) the capital of Magadha. The clever minister however succeeded in stirring up discord between the allies and having thus won over the mountain king to his side took the bolder course of finding out means to remove Chandragupta from his path. Chāṇakya however came to know of this through his spies and having managed to make Parvataka fall in the trap which was designed for Chandragupta, the unfortunate king lost his life.

The Amātya however made one more attempt to restore the fortunes of the fallen dynasty and persuaded Malayaketu, the son of Parvataka to take up arms against Chandragupta. Moreover, he arranged to secure for him the assistance of the king Chitravarman of Kūlut, king Simhanāda of Malayabhumi, king Puṣkara of Kashmir, Sinḍhusena of the territory round the Indus and Meghākṣa of the Pārasika kingdom but Chāṇakya again upset his plans by rousing Malayaketu's suspicions against his allies and the whole scheme deplorably failed owing to the former's weakness. Chandragupta now became the undisputed master of the territory under the sway of the Nandas and in accordance with the advice of Chāṇakya appointed the Amātya of the late king his chief Minister, in return for his fidelity to his master.

Being now firmly seated on the throne, Chandragupta formed the ambitious scheme of extending his territories and founding a great empire. His most formidable rival was Seleucus, one of Alexander's generals who had obtained Babylon as his share, on the partition of the territory conquered by Alexander, among his generals. He was unable to retain his hold on the country at first, but he made a brave attempt to regain it and succeeded not only in winning it back but bringing under his sway, the greater portion of Western and Central Asia. This brought him in the vicinity of the Indian border and he organised an expedition to the country evidently with a view to annex to his kingdom at least that portion of the Indian territory which had been reduced to subjection by Alexander. Chandragupta had however already collected an army of 30000 cavalry and 600000 infantry and consequently not only was he

unable to obtain any success, but had on the other hand, to cede to his rival the satrapies of Paropanisadai, Aria and Arachosia corresponding to the countries having as their capital the modern cities of Kabul, Herat and Kandhar. He also cemented the treaty by a matrimonial alliance and sent an Ambassador to reside in his court—the famous Megasthenes whose account of what he saw and learnt in the court of Chandragupta forms one of the most interesting records in the pages of Ancient Indian history.

Chandragupta next turned his attention to Kathiawad and reduced it to submission as may be inferred from the inscription on the great rock at Gīrnār which records the fact that a lake called Sudars'ana was originally built by Pusyagupta of the Vais'ya caste, a brother-in-law of the emperor. An equally explicit statement regarding the conquest of Gujarat has not been found but as we learn from the edicts of As'oka that his sway extended as far as Sopārā near Bassein and as he is known to have added only the territory of the Kālīngas to his paternal dominions, we may safely conclude that the whole of the province as far as Bassein formed a part of the territory under the sway of his father. Some Mysore inscriptions even lead to the conclusion that the northern portion of the country was included in the Mauryan empire and this derives considerable support from the fact that the Nandas whom Chandragupta displaced are said in another inscription to have ruled over Kuntala a province which included the Western Deccan and the north of Mysore.*

* Rice-Mysore and Coorg p. 3 and 9.

Chandragupta thus ranks among one of the greatest rulers of India, his kingdom extending from the western borders of Afghanistan in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east and from Kashmir in the north to as far as the Vindhya range in the south. His skill as an administrator was not less marked than his ability as a general and a very elaborate account of his administration is available from the *Arthasāstra* compiled by his minister Chāṇakya, as well as from the writings of Greek writers especially Megasthenes.

The form of Government was of course monarchical, the king being the head of the Government, and being assisted by officers appointed by himself. According to the school of the Mānavas, the number of such ministers was fixed to be twelve, but Chāṇakya who has expressed his views on different administrative problems of the time in his book “the *Arthasāstra*” maintained that the number should be such as suited the needs of the occasion. Megasthenes has given us a very faithful account of the duties they had to discharge, their composition and their qualifications. He says,

“The seventh class consists of the counsellors and assessors of those who deliberate upon public affairs. It is the smallest class looking to numbers but the most respected on account of the high character and wisdom of its members. To them belong the highest posts of the Government, the tribunals of justice and the general administration of public affairs. As it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice, it enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the

army, admirals of the navy, controllers and commissioners who superintend agriculture. ”

The pay the Government servants received varied from 4000 panas a month for the heir apparent and other officers of the State to 5 panas given to persons doing manual work. A “ pana ” weighed about 56 grains and was approximately worth twelve annas of the present currency, and at that rate, the pay the Government servants received varied from Rs. 3000 a month to Rs. 3-12-0 for the lowest, a scale which still obtains in some of the first class Native States of India.

The chief source of the king's revenue was his share of the produce realised from land, generally fixed at one fourth. Besides this, an additional amount was levied from lands which were irrigated, the amount varying from one fifth to one third of the revenue realised therefrom. Taxes were also levied on articles exported for sale and in order to ensure a good income, the strange rule was laid down that commodities should not be sold at the place of growth and manufacture. Imports from foreign countries were heavily taxed, the total duty levied on them being 20 percent of the price. On fruits and other articles of an easily perishable nature, a duty equal to one sixth of their value was levied and the duty on precious stones was determined with the aid of experts. Special duty was also levied on wines imported from abroad and all evasion of duty was frustrated by the rule which required that all goods brought for sale should be marked with the Government Stamp.

At the end of the year, the Ministers used to meet and submit an account of the work done by the several

Departments under them, and questions of foreign as well as internal policy were also discussed at the time.

In the matter of the administration of justice, we find that the headman of the village continued to exercise the powers he had been exercising from times immemorial. With the elders of the village (Grāma-vṛddhāḥ), he also used to settle disputes among villagers and he was authorised to deport out of the village under him, a thief or adulterer. The judicial machinery was however revised to meet new needs and we find for the first time the judicial courts divided into " civil " and " criminal, " the civil courts being composed of three persons who were proficient in the Śāstras, and three Ministers (Amātyāḥ) and the criminal courts of the three ministers, and three supervisors who made the necessary investigation and laid the result of the inquiry before the court. The judges were enjoined to be scrupulously fair and careful in deciding cases and were punished, if they threatened, rebuked, silenced or drove away a party to a suit, if they put irrelevant questions, did not note down what was submitted to them in reply to their queries, instructed a party as to the way in which it should give evidence or gave it information regarding its previous statement. It is not clearly stated who tried the judges for misconduct under any of these heads, but it must have been the king assisted by his chief ministers.

An idea of the nature of the suits that were brought before the courts may be gathered from the specification of the cases, they were empowered to deal with. Thus the civil courts dealt with (1) the establishment of contract (2) breach of contract of service, (3) rights of

masters and servants, (4) slavery (5) recovery of debts, (6) rescission of contracts of sale, (7) deposits, (8) resumption of gifts, (9) acts of violence, (10) assault, (11) defamation, (12) gambling, (13) sales of property by persons other than the owner, (14) rights of ownership, (15) boundary disputes, (16) construction of buildings (17) sale of house property (18) damage to agriculture, pasture ground, and public roads, (19) miscellaneous hindrances, (20) duties of man and wife (21) guilds (22) inheritance and succession, (23) miscellaneous offences and (24) rules of procedure.

The criminal courts took cognisance of cases relating to (1) the protection of artisans, (2) the protection of merchants, (3) the removal of national calamity (4) the suppression of the wicked (5) the detection of criminals by spies, (6) arresting robbers on suspicion or in the act (7) examination of violent death, (8) cross-examination (9) discipline in Government departments (10) penalty for the mutilation of a limb (11) capital punishment with or without torture (12) improper social intercourse (13) punishment for other transgressions.

The Arthasāstra gives a very elaborate account of the roads and communications existing in the times of Chandragupta, and they are minutely classified. The biggest road was the Rājamārga used by kings on occasions of state and 32 feet wide. Of these Megasthenes has noticed one viz. that connecting Pātaliputra with the Indus Valley. There were generally six in a city of which three ran north and south and three east to west. The road for the larger chariots was also 32 feet broad and that for smaller chariots 10 feet wide. Roads for small animals as well as for

animals like the elephant are also referred to and there were roads specially meant for asses and camels which were such as could be used irrespective of the season or nature of the soil. Lastly, there is a mention of the padapatha, the Manusya patha and the road for persons carrying merchandise on their shoulders.

Of the water routes, the Arthasāstra mentions the ordinary river routes and the roads over artificial water ways or canals. The routes for coastal traffic are also mentioned and there were besides ocean routes by which India carried on trade with foreign countries.

The P. W. Department of Chandragupta also attended to the working of mines, the construction and maintenance of irrigation works, the planting of fruit trees, flower trees and medicinal plants and herbs, as also to the maintenance of hospitals. This was noted by Megasthenes who observes as follows :—

“ Of the Magistrates, some have the charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery. Some superintend the rivers, measure the land as in Egypt and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the canals into their branches, so that every man may have an equal supply of it. These persons have also charge of the hunters and have the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes and superintend the occupations connected with land as those of the wood cutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths and the miners. They make the public roads and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to indicate the by-roads and distances.

Details about the working of the mines, and the way in which metals were purified are given in the Artha-

s'āstra. According to it, the Department was in charge of mining experts and their duty was to locate the mine and to ascertain its richness by taking into account, the colour, weight, smell, taste, oiliness, adhesiveness, power of amalgamating with particular metals &c. The metals were purified by the application of urine, alkalies, cow's bile, urine and dung of buffalo etc., and were made malleable by the application of the ashes of yava māṣa, tila, honey, sheep's milk, clarified butter, powder of cow's teeth and horn &c. After these processes were gone through, it was sent to the superintendents concerned of whom there was a large number, entrusted with specific duties. Thus there were the superintendents of gold to attend to the manufacture of golden ornaments, superintendent of the inferior metals, superintendent of the military weapons and superintendent of the mint. There was also a superintendent called the Lavaṇ-ādhyakṣa who looked after the commerce in salt.

Irrigation also received all the attention the subject requires in a country like India. We have a reference to it, in the writings of Megasthenes in the passage quoted above and also in the rock inscription, recording the building of a lake called Sudars'ana by Puṣyagupta of the Vais'ya caste, a brother-in-law of Chandragupta. Irrigation was carried on (1) by hand (2) by water carried on shoulders, (3) by mechanical contrivance, and (4) by water raised from tanks, rivers, etc., the rates charged being $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce respectively. Great care was taken to see that no damage was done to irrigation works and a fine was inflicted for letting out water otherwise than through the sluice gate. Again if the owner of rent free land, neglected to keep it in

repairs, a fine equal to double the loss caused by the remissness was imposed.

Owing to the fact that cattle in India are extremely useful not only for transport but for cultivation, great attention was paid to their well being. Six superintendents were appointed to look after them, viz. (1) The superintendent of cows, (2) the superintendent of pastures and grazing grounds, (3) the game keeper, (4) the superintendent of elephants, (5) the superintendent of forests and forest produce and (6) the superintendent of horses. It was their duty to look after the cattle in their charge, to the pasture grounds set apart by the State, and to the food to be given to them. The proportion to be given to them was fixed by state regulation and they were placed under the charge of herdsmen, who were paid under four different systems. Besides tending cattle under their charge, they gave medicines to animals which were suffering from disease and if the disease of an animal took a serious turn owing to their negligence, they had to pay a fine equal to twice the cost of the expense incurred in effecting their recovery. The rate of butter to be manufactured from milk was also fixed, after taking into account the quality of the milk of different animals, and if there was any variation owing to special circumstances, the real proportion was settled by actual churning.

Besides the officers and departments mentioned above the king appointed inspectors who with the assistance of courtesans kept a watch over the events that happened in the locality under their charge and made reports to the king. Officers were also appointed to keep a register of births and deaths, to superintend markets and to

keep a strict watch over sale and barter; and there were stringent rules forbidding old and new articles being mixed up together, any disregard of the rules being severely punished.

A special feature of the administration of Chandragupta was the encouragement given to persons who had devised any new process tending to the welfare of the people or the State. The day fixed for the purpose was the New Year's day when such persons used to repair to the courts and submit publicly an account of what they had done. If it was found that his claim was true, he was exempted from the payment of taxes and contributions but if it was false, he was enjoined, we are told, to remain quiet for the rest of his life.

As foreign ambassadors used to attend the court of Chandragupta and as people from foreign countries, used to repair to India for commercial purposes, one department was specially created to look after them and to see that they were provided with proper lodgings and given the necessary facilities and protection. The movements of foreign ambassadors were carefully watched by means of persons attending upon them and arrangements were made to provide them as well as other foreigners with medical help, in case they fell ill during their sojourn in India. The department also looked to their safe conduct up to the confines of the Empire and in case any one of them died, it arranged for his funeral ceremonies and to the proper disposal of his property.

Trade with foreign countries was carried on, on a large scale and was under the control of the Superintendent of Ports who fixed the time of the arrival and departure of ships and supervised the arrival and depar-

ture of foreign merchants. The chief places with which trade was carried on were Suvarṇabhūmi from which a kind of sandal wood called Kaliyaka was imported, China which exported fabrics of silk while gems of various kinds as well as aloe wood were imported from the other side of the ocean.

The military administration of the State, which was of the utmost importance, owing to the vast extent of the territory, he had acquired by force of arms and the necessity of defending it against enemies, internal or external, was planned on an elaborate scale being entrusted to six different officers. Of this, one was in charge of the fleet, while another was in charge of the transport arrangements and charged with the duty of providing fodder for the animals and food for the soldiers. The third officer was in charge of the infantry, the fourth in charge of the horses, the fifth in charge of the war chariots and the sixth of the elephants. As observed before, in the times of the Mahābhārata,* the army consisted of four arms only viz. (1) the infantry (2) cavalry (3) chariots and (4) elephants but this system was improved upon by Chandragupta who added two more arms viz. transport and fleet, to meet the steadily growing requirements of his empire. The total strength of his army was estimated to be 600,000 infantry 30,000 horse and 9,000 elephants.

The care of the king's person was entrusted to women, the bodyguards and the rest of the soldiery being posted outside the gates. It seemed Chandragupta lived in eternal dread of his enemies, for he did not sleep in a particular place or a particular apartment but was obliged

* Vide. p. 253 Vol. I

to change his coach from time to time to defeat plots against his life. He generally used to stay in his palace but when justice had to be dispensed, or a sacrifice was to be offered, he used to leave its precincts. The most important occasion when he was absent therefrom was when he led an army to the battlefield for he was in supreme command thereof and it was he who planned and carried out the field operations.

The picture of the life of the people which the Greek writers have presented to us is indeed pleasant and bears testimony to the excellence of the administrative machinery. "The people" says Megasthenes "were honest and contented and respected truth and virtue" and in corroboration of the statement, he goes on to say that in the camp of Chandragupta which consisted of 4,00,000 men, the theft reported on any one day did not exceed 200 drachmæ and that "although there were no written laws and the people were ignorant of writing."

A still more gratifying feature of their life was that there were no suits about pledges and deposits nor did they require seals on witnesses, all transactions being based upon mutual confidence. They were fond of finery, their dress consisting of cloth worked in gold and flowered robes made of muslin. Intoxication was unknown, the only occasion on which they used to drink being the offering of a sacrifice.

The great king whose genius had reared such a vast empire and who had worked out the elaborate scheme of administration described above, ruled for a period of 24 years and handed over the reins of Government to his son Bindusāra, having according to the inscription at Śravana Belgola adopted the Jain religion and

become a disciple of Bhadrabāhu, the 7th in descent from Mahāvīra, its great founder. He accompanied that spiritual guide when the latter predicting a dire calamity for 12 years in Ujjayinī, migrated with the whole of the Jain community to the south and led an ascetic life in accordance with its dictates till his death which occurred at the age of sixty-two*

The information which we possess regarding Bindusāra is comparatively meagre and is contained in the Indian legends regarding As'oka, which do not deserve much credence on account of the extravagant facts they often narrate. However, there may perhaps be a germ of truth in the facts noted there that Taxila rebelled in his reign. It was then a famous city known for the learned men who flocked there and this fact coupled with its important position gave it an importance which few other cities in that district possessed. An able ruler would have foreseen this and done nothing to exasperate its people but Bindusāra who had not the ability which characterises a person who carves out a kingdom for himself, did not care to attend to the administration of the state and the ministers having thus become aggressive, the people got dissatisfied and rose against the Crown. As'oka then young was sent to quell it and though he was badly equipped, he succeeded in his arduous task by pacific methods which won for him the admiration of all.

Another noteworthy event of his reign was that an ambassador named Deimachos was sent to his court by Antiochus I, the successor of Seleucos (280-261 B.C.) and by Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt (285-

* Rice-Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions p. 9.

247 B.C.) *Deimachos* committed his observations to writing but like so many other writings of Greek authors, his work has been lost. If it had been preserved, we would probably have obtained as detailed an account of the reign of Bindusāra as Megasthenes has left of Chandragupta. The only other reliable information which we possess regarding his reign is the foundation by him of the new city of Rājagṛha.

He was at first residing in Kusāgāra, but the houses being of wood and being close together were destroyed by fire. He therefore shifted to a new site and built Rājagṛha. When Hiuen Tsang visited the place in the first half of the 7th Century, A. D. no trace was left of its outer walls but the inner walls were standing in a ruined condition and are stated by him to be 20 li* in circuit.+

Bindusāra died after a reign of 25 years. His eldest son was Susīma, but his arrogant behaviour had alienated the sympathy of the ministers, who installed As'oka on the throne. Susīma marched to Pātaliputra at the head of an army to assert his rights by force but he failed in his attempt and As'oka became firmly established on the throne.

* 35 li=6 miles. Beale-Buddhist records Vol. II. p. 167.

CHAPTER VI.

ASÓKA AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

The reign of As'oka differs in essential respects from that of his illustrious grandfather; for, while the foundation of a big empire was the work which Chandragupta accomplished, As'oka devoted his energies principally to the propagation of a programme, which aimed not at the conquest of dominion, but at what he, in his edicts, aptly calls the "greatest conquest"—the conquest of the heart

The reason which led him to do so, was a war with the Kalingas undertaken in the twelfth year of his reign. Their kingdom which was founded at least eight centuries before Christ and which extended from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Krishnā formed one of the five outlying kingdoms of Ancient India with its capital about half way down the coast and still surviving in the present city of Kalingapatan.* It was a great emporium of trade where ships from distant countries used to gather and its commercial interests were so great that navigation and commerce formed part of the education of the princes of Kalinga. Chandragupta had not brought it under his sway and As'oka with a view to complete the work which his grandfather had begun organised an expedition with a view to its conquest. He succeeded in his ambitious design but after an awful carnage, killing 1,00,000 persons and taking 1,50,000 prisoners; the great death roll stirred him deeply and he devoted the rest of his life in spreading peace and tranquility.

* Hunter's Orissa Vol I. p. 197.

The account of his conversion to Buddhism as given by the Buddhist chronicles is however entirely different. According to them, As'oka obtained the throne by slaying ninety-nine brothers, the offspring of his father's sixteen wives, sparing only one who was the youngest viz. Tisya. It however so happened that at the time, the wife of Sumana, the eldest brother was pregnant and she fled to a place outside the capital where a kind hearted man gave her refuge and she gave birth to a child named Nigrodha. According to the Ceylon Chronicles, he became a recognised member of the Buddhistic faith when he was only seven and became thoroughly versed in its lore. As he was once passing by the palace, As'oka who of course knew nothing about his original history was much impressed by his bright countenance and having summoned him to his presence put to him a series of questions; the youthful boy gave him a lecture which produced a decided effect on the king and he became a convert to the Buddhistic faith.

The account on the face of it bears the stamp of being legendary and its veracity would have been open to question even if we had no other version of the conversion of As'oka to the Buddhistic faith. However as observed above, one of the edicts of As'oka gives in unambiguous terms a history of his conversion which leaves no doubt about the causes which wrought this change in his mind. It says :-

King Priyadars'in, beloved of the gods, being anointed eight years, conquered the country of Kalinga. One hundred and fifty thousand souls were carried away thence, one hundred thousand were slain, and many times as many died. Afterwards, now that Kalinga has

been conquered, are found with the beloved of the gods, a zealous protection of the sacred law, a zealous love of the sacred law, a zealous teaching of the sacred law. That is the repentance of the beloved of the gods on account of his conquest of Kāṣṭhā; for, when an unconquered country is being conquered, there happens both a slaying and a dying and a carrying off of the people. That appears very painful and regrettable to the beloved of the gods. But the following appears to the beloved of the gods, still more regrettable than that; for there dwell Brāhmaṇas or ascetics or men of other creeds among whom the following is practised viz. obedience towards the first born, obedience towards parents, obedience towards venerable persons, becoming behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives slaves and servants with fidelity of attachment. Such men suffer injury, or destruction or forcible separation from their beloved ones. Or misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives of those who themselves are well protected but whose affection is undiminished. Then, even that misfortune becomes an injury just for those unhurt ones. All this falls severally on men and appears regrettable to the beloved of the gods. And men have faith not merely in a single creed.

Even one hundredth or one thousandth part of those men who were slain, died or were carried off during the conquest of Kāṣṭhā, now appears to the beloved of the gods, a matter of deepest regret. Even, if a man does him an injury, the beloved of the gods holds that all that can be borne should be borne. Even on the inhabitants of the forests, found in the empire of

the beloved of the gods, he takes compassion, if he is told that he should destroy them successively, and the beloved of the gods possesses power to torment them. Unto them, it is said—What? “Let them spurn doing evil and they shall not be killed,” for, the beloved of the gods desires for all beings, freedom from injury, self restraint, impartiality and joyfulness.

But this conquest, the beloved of the gods holds the chiefest, the conquest through the sacred law.

“King Priyadars'in, beloved of the gods, honours men of all creeds both ascetic and householders, by gifts and honours of various kinds.”

“But the beloved of the gods thinks not so much of gifts and honours as of what? That an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds. The increase of essentials may happen in various ways. But this is its root viz. guarding one's speech; how so? Honouring one's own creed and blaming other creeds shall not be in unimportant points or it shall be moderate with respect to this or that important point. But other creeds must be honoured for the reason. Acting thus one exalts one's creeds and benefits also the other creeds. Acting differently one hurts one's own creed and injures the other creeds.”*

The subjects perhaps wherein As'oka asserted his views in a thoroughly characteristic manner is that wherein he inculcates upon all the duty of abstinence from slaughter of animals. Buddha indeed asked his followers to abstain from doing any harm to living creatures and from the destruction of life but this is something different from the energetic and thoroughly

practical way in which Asoka set himself to the task. For, we learn from Edict I of Khālsī, that before he promulgated the orders in this behalf, thousands of living creatures were slaughtered everyday in the royal kitchen alone. He not only stopped the slaughter altogether, but abolished also the royal hunt which was one of the chief sources of enjoyment of the king for centuries past. The people followed the example set by their ruler and took up the matter in such right earnest that the slaughter of animals for sacrificial purposes became extinct and has not been revived although more than two thousand years have elapsed since the Emperor issued his edict.

With a view to impress the chief principles of the Buddhistic faith more firmly in the mind of the people, the Emperor appointed special officers to attend to their propagation and besides, passed a general order requiring District officers as well as the officers subordinate to them to go on a round every five years and instruct his subjects in the matter. Moreover, being aware that in spite of all his earnestness, the work which he had so much at his heart would suffer seriously after his death, he evidently following the example of the great Persian King Darius, caused the chief commandments to be inscribed on huge rocks situated in the remotest part of his vast domain. The labours of the Archæological Department have succeeded in discovering a large number of them viz. at Shāhbāzgarhi, north-east of Pesbāwar, Mānsehrā in the N. W. Frontier province, Khālsī about fifteen miles west of the hill station of Mussoorie, Dhauli in the Cuttack District of Orissa, Jaugada in the Ganjām District of Madras Presidency.

and Sūrpāraka (Sopārā) north of Bombay. They have also been found at Mās̄ki in the Hyderabad State which have a special importance because they refer to As'oka by name, while the others generally speak of him by his familiar title of king Piyadasi.

One of the most famous of these rocks is that at Gīrnār in the province of Kathiawad containing the inscriptions of three famous kings viz. As'oka, Rudradāman and Skandagupta. Its presence was first discovered by Colonel Tod in 1822, where it lay in a thicket remote from the eyes of men until a philanthropic gentleman caused the thicket to be cleared, for the making of a road leading to the top of the hill, for the benefit of the Jains, some of whose best temples are situated on its summit. The inscriptions have of course suffered to some extent, but it has been found possible to take prints therefrom and an excellent copy thereof has been published in the Archæological report of Kathiawad and Kachchha.

Besides these principal edicts, there are others generally known as the minor rock edicts found at Siddhapura, Jatinga Rāmes'vara and Brahmagiri, all situated in the Chitaldurg District of Northern Mysore, at Sahasrām in the Shahabad district of South Behar, Rūpanatha in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces and at Fairāt in the Jaypur State.

As'oka also caused the edicts to be inscribed on as many as thirty pillars and of these eight have been discovered. Two of these contain only the rules for the maintenance of discipline in the Buddhistic monastic order but the remainder have inscribed on them what are generally known as the pillar edicts. They are written in a style

as clear and forcible as that of the rock edicts and some of these are well worth a quotation "in extenso."

The first of these is as follows :—

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods speaks thus; "After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. Happiness in this world and the next is difficult to gain except by the greatest love of the sacred law, the greatest circumspection, the greatest obedience, the greatest fear, the greatest energy. But through my instructions, these have indeed increased day by day and will increase still more viz. the longing for the Sacred Law and the love of the Sacred Law. And my servants, the great ones, the lowly ones and those of the middle rank being able to lead sinners back to their duty obey and carry out my orders; likewise also, the warders of the marches. Now the order (for them) is to protect according to the sacred law, to give happiness in accordance with the sacred law, and to guard according to the sacred law."

The third edict is in a different strain. It says "Man only sees his good deeds (and says unto himself) 'This good deed I have done'. But he sees in nowise his evil deeds (and does not say unto himself) 'this evil deed I have done;' this is what is called sin. But difficult indeed is this self examination. Nevertheless, man ought to pay regard to the following and say unto himself "Such passions as rage, cruelty, anger, pride, jealousy are those called sinful; even through these, I shall bring about my fall."

Such are the principles which the great king inculcated upon all his people. Not content with the

measures he had taken for the propagation of the Buddhist faith throughout his vast empire, As'oka also sent missions for the same purpose to the country of the foreign rulers with whom he had diplomatic relations e.g. Antiochus Theos, King of Syria and Western Asia, Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia and Magas of Cyrene in Northern Africa. A Buddhist council—the third after the death of Buddha—was also held and though its main object was to safeguard both doctrine and life from misuse, it was at the same time decided, that arrangements should be made to spread the Buddhist faith in Kashmir, Gandhāra, Bactria, Deccan, the western coast of India and Ceylon. The result according to Rock Edict VIII was that victory by the sacred Law was won not only in his dominions but even in the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred leagues.

A place where the mission was particularly successful was Ceylon, whose ruler Tisya, had according to the Ceylonese chronicles conceived a great admiration for As'oka, on account of the latter's fame having reached his ears. To come into closer relations with him, he despatched a mission to Pāṭaliputra and when it set out to return to its native place, the Emperor seized the opportunity to expound to the Sinhalese King the leading principles of the Buddhist religion, exhorting the latter to follow the same path. The King became easily a member of the faith and having requested that somebody should be sent to ordain him as well as others into the faith, Prince Mahendra was deputed for the purpose and succeeded in enlisting as many as

40000 followers. Princess Amita also expressed her desire to follow the course, but as the Buddhist canon forbade the ordainment of females by males, the king wrote again to the Emperor to send a respectable lady for the purpose. Princess Sanghamitrā was accordingly sent and princess Amita became a recognised member of the faith together with her followers.

The conversion of the royal family and of their following gave a great impetus to the other subjects of the King to adopt the Buddhistic faith and it rapidly spread throughout the whole province. In order to appeal to their imagination, a branch of the Bo tree under which the great Buddha had received his inspiration was sent to Ceylon by As'oka and later on, he sent there a collar-bone of As'oka extacted from the Chulamani Stupa, which was laid with great ceremony in a large stūpa erected for the purpose.

Though the efforts of the Emperor were thus mainly directed to the propagation of the Buddhistic faith, the administration of the State was by no means neglected. The system in its main features continued to be the same as in the times of Chandragupta, but As'oka infused the same energy in it as he did in the sphere of religion.

Thus, as mentioned in Rock Edict VI, it was not the practice before him to dispose of work or to receive reports at all times, but As'oka directed that the official reporters should report to him any matter affecting the public at any time and at any place, namely in the dining hall; the palace, the garden or even his bedroom. Some minor but extremely useful works such as the planting of banyan or mango trees to give shade to

men or beasts, digging of wells at every half kos, the erecting of rest houses and the providing of watering places were all carried out with rigour and every measure was taken to ensure the comfort of the people at home and abroad.

A work which has proved to be of great advantage to archæologists is the pillar erected by him at Rummindei in the Nepalese Tarai. It was intended to commemorate the visit of the Emperor, to the place where Buddha was born in the twentieth year of his coronation, accompanied by Upagupta, his preceptor. "Here" said he, pointing to the famous place, "the venerable one was born." Asoka directed that a pillar be erected at the place with an inscription narrating the event, and exempted the village from the payment of the royal share, as a fitting memorial to his visit.

Besides these, there are many other pillars erected by the king, of great artistic beauty, one of the most famous being that at Lauriyā Nandangarh in the Champāran District of North Behar. It has on its top the figure of a lion facing the rising sun, resting on a circular abacus whose edge is decorated with a bas relief representing a row of geese pecking their food. It is 9' and $7\frac{1}{2}$ " high, with a diameter of $35\frac{1}{2}$ " at the base, gradually narrowing down to one of $22\frac{1}{4}$ " at the top. Another well known pillar is that of Allahabad, whose abacus is ornamented with a border of alternate lotus and honey suckle. A third pillar at Rāmpurvā in the Champāran District was also surmounted by a lion, but it was separated from the main column at some time and lay buried in the ground close by, until its presence was discovered by Dr. Marshall.

All the three pillars noted above, have pillar edicts I to VI inscribed on them. A pillar at Delhi Topra has edicts I to VII, while two at Mirath (Meerat), and Lauriyā Ararāj have only edicts I to VI. These together form the six pillars referred to above and there are besides two pillars at Sānchi and Sārnāth containing a minor edict.

Besides the monuments described above, some of the earliest caves found in India were constructed in his reign. The chief of these are situated at Barābar hill about sixteen miles north of Gayā and the Nāgārjuni hills to the east thereof and contain inscriptions dated in the twelfth and nineteenth year of his reign. They are hewn out of huge rocks, have vaulted roofs and the walls of some of them are carefully polished. They are thus evidently the precursors of those huge caves of later times which we find at various places, throughout the whole of India, though they lack that elaborate ornamentation which forms such a conspicuous feature of the later group.

The great emperor appears to have devoted his energies specially to the erection of stūpas. These may be described to be structures containing the relics of a great personage and consisting of a large hemispherical dome surmounted on a low circular drum so as to leave sufficient space for perambulation. He does not appear to be their originator, as they are said to be erected over the relics of Buddha, soon after his death but he spent money more lavishly upon them than any of his predecessors. As may be inferred from the description given above, the stūpas themselves have no special architectural features but some

* Buddhistic Records of the Western World p. 85.

of them are fenced off by railings of stone elaborately carved and of these, some again have ornamental arches or Toranas which too are richly sculptured. The most well known railings are those at Budha Gayā and described, in details, by Cunningham in Vol. I of his report on the Archaeological Survey of India but there are others equally remarkable at Sānchi.

Another noteworthy event of his reign was the transference of his capital from Rājagṛha to Pātaliputra. A somewhat fabulous account of the origin of the city is given by Hiuen Tsang and we are thus at a loss to know exactly the history of the change. However there is evidently a germ of truth in the statement that the great king built there a palace, "the walls, door ways and sculptures of which were no human work" When Fa Hian visited the place, in 400 A. D. the place was already in ruins and we have thus no detailed account of the great building. The researches of Dr. Spooner has however thrown much light on the subject and he is of opinion that Persia exercised a great influence on Indian arts of the time and that even the great Emperor Chandragupta and his descendants were Persian by descent. The question is however still under discussion and cannot be said to be definitely settled.*

As'oka died after a prosperous reign of 36 years. Though he cannot be compared with his grandfather who, born in humble circumstances, had carved out an empire for himself by sheer ability and administered it in a way which secured it for his successors upto eight generations, As oka undoubtedly ranks amog the greatest

* See Dr. Spooner's article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1915 and the remarks thereon in the Modern Review.

rufers of India. It was through his efforts that the doctrines of Buddha, which till then, were known only in the Eastern part of India became familiar not only to people throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula, but to the greater portion of Western Asia, and it was owing to the personal interest which he took in the spread of the Buddhistic faith that Ceylon became converted to it. Another remarkable feature about him was his love for the people over whom he ruled. How intensely he loved them can be inferred from the fact that in spite of his having done all he could to better their prospects, and in spite of his having directed as a tangible proof thereof, that reports should be submitted to him, in any matter concerning them, whether he was dining, in the ladies' apartments or even in his bedroom, in supercession of the time honoured practice of receiving them at a stated time, he declared in Rock Edict VI that he was never too much satisfied with the efforts he had made. In more edicts than one, he has given expression to the noble sentiment that all men were his children and just as he desired that all his children may enjoy every kind of prosperity so he desired the same for all men. His taste for architecture was equally remarkable and it is no exaggeration to say that had it not been for the monuments raised by him throughout the whole of India, many a question connected with the history of Ancient India would have remained clouded in obscurity.

As'oka was succeeded by his son Suyas'as according to the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas and by Kuṇāla according to the Vāyu but his name has not been found in any other record or inscription. On the other hand,

the *Rājataranginī* refers to one Jalauka having succeeded him in Kashmir while an inscription of As'oka mentions that he had a son named Tivara by a wife named Kāruvākī. It is thus difficult to say who succeeded him in fact and it is not likely that any definite information on the subject will be ever available. The same difficulty would have been felt regarding the person next in succession, for while the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Matsya Purāṇas* give his name to be Das'aratha, the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* call him Bandhupālita. Fortunately, however, an inscription has been found in the Nāgārjuni caves which refers distinctly to Das'aratha and thus any doubt regarding the authenticity of the statement contained in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is removed.

Das'aratha was succeeded by Sangata, Śālis'ūka, Somas'arman, Śatadhanvan and Bṛhadratha according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv. 24). The *Vāyu Purāṇa* gives another list, the names of the last six successors being Kus'āla, Bandupālita, Indrapālita, Das'avarman, Śatadhanvan and Bṛhadās'va, whose reigns lasted for 8, 8, 10, 7, 8 and 7 years respectively. The powers of the Mauryas by this time completely declined and after having ruled for 137 years, they were succeeded by the S'uṅgas.*

The founder of the new dynasty was one Puṣyamitra a general in the army of the last Maurya king. Calling

Note :—The *Viṣṇu*, the *Brahmāṇḍa*, the *Matsya* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* agree in saying that the Mauryas reigned for 137 years; but while the *Brahmāṇḍa* says that there were nine Mauryas in all, the others mention ten. The total of all the reigns comes to 146 viz. Chandragupta (24): Bindusāra (25): As'oka (36) Śūyas'as (8) : Das'aratha, (8) : Śangata (9) Śālis'ūka (18): Somas'arman (7) : Śatadhanvan (9) Bṛhadratha (7)

together the troops under his command, fully equipped with weapons of war, under the pretext of holding a review, he surrounded his unsuspecting master and putting him to death seized the regal power. For a time, he found his position extremely difficult, for the Bactrian Greeks had in the west become masters of the Punjab and Sindha and were threatening to push eastwards towards the heart of India while in the south east, the kingdom of Kalīṅga which Asoka had reduced to subjection had regained its independence and was the source of a perpetual menace to the security of Magadha. In the time of Puṣyamitra specially, it was ruled over by a brave and ambitious king Mahāmeghavāhana Khāravela—Having devoted the first seven years of his coming to the throne, in making preparation for his ambitious scheme, he crossed Utkala and invaded the Magadha territory. Puṣyamitra offered him battle but he was defeated and fled in haste towards Mathurā leaving all his elephants and treasure in the hands of the victor.

Though the victory was great, it was not decisive and Khāravela led two more expeditions to reduce Magadha to complete subjection. He was successful in his attempt and forced Puṣyamitra to sue for peace but before he can develop his success, he died prematurely after an eventful reign of 14 years.

Puṣyamitra was free from the grip of his most formidable rival but was soon obliged to turn his attention to another foe—the Bactrian Greeks who operating from Panjab which they had subjugated, advanced in full force to Mathurā. A very faithful account of this remarkable episode has been preserved in the Yuga Purāṇa of

the Garga Samhitā which states as follows, in a prophetic style, the events having occurred after the Mahābhārata war when the Purāṇas are supposed to stop.

“ That impudent war loving un-righteous foolish Seleucide, the son of Euthydemus, terrific in crushing his own kingdom and expounder of profanism, will instal his righteous and well renowned elder brother by name Heliocles. Then traversing Sāketa, Pañchāla and Mathurā Districts, the brave warlike Yavanas will reach Kusumadhvaḥ. Then when the evil doers will reach Puṣpapura and destroy Magadha, every country will no doubt become panic stricken. Then a terrible war will take place in the west. The infatuated five Yavana kings will not stay in Madhyadesa but will go to Varāha and a very terrible and dreadful war originating among their own troops and resulting in their mutual destruction will doubtless take place. Then on the destruction of those Yavanas, through war, there will come forth seven powerful kings in Sāketa. ”

We have here a clear reference to the invasion of India by Demetrius* and any doubt regarding his identity is removed by the allusion to the destruction of his own kingdom during his expedition to India, for, as we shall see in the next chapter, another Bactrian Eucratides taking advantage of his absence, made himself master of Bactria. The reference to Heliocles as

* Mr. K. H. Dhruva is of opinion that the reference is to the invasion of Menander but he was not the son of Euthydemus. It is however possible that we have a reference to the events of the reign not of a single ruler but of several and that the latter portion of the account refers to Menander. See his translation, in Gujarati of Śvapna Vāsavadatta.

a religious person is also in conformity with the account of Greek writers where he is called ' the Just '

As mentioned above, the invasion though pressed with full vigour failed owing to the internal dissensions and left Puṣyamitra master of the whole of India from Magadha in the east to the province of the Indus in the west. He signalised his success by the celebration of the As'vamedha Sacrifice and died after having reigned for full 60 years.

As regards his descendants, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa observes as follows :—

"His son will be Agnimitra; his son will be Sujyeṣṭha; his son will be Vasumitra; his son will be Ādraka; his son will be Pulindaka; his son will be Ghoṣavasū; his son will be Vajramitra; his son will be Bhāgavata; his son will be Devabhūti. These are the ten Śungas who will govern the kingdom for a hundred and twelve years.

The lists furnished by the Vāyu and the Matsya Purāṇas differ somewhat from the above for the latter adds one ruler of the name of Vasumitra after Agnimitra and omits Agnimitra and Ghoṣavasū. Again the total duration of the dynasty as obtained by adding the number of years for which each of these rulers reigned comes to 142 years, according to the Vāyu and 109 according to the Matsya. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the Brahmāṇḍa agree in saying that the dynasty endured in all for 112 years.

Devabhūti, the last king of the dynasty was a very voluptuous king and leaving the reins of government in the hands of his minister Vasudeva, himself repaired to Vidisā, known for the beauty of its dancing girls, Not content with this, he committed a rape on the daughter of his minister by getting rid of her husband

and disguising himself in his dress. As might be expected, she committed suicide and her father having determined to avenge the cruel wrong done to him contrived to send to the king a dancing woman who gave him poison and the king died of its effects. The people hailed the event with joy and Vasudeva occupied the vacant throne.

The dynasty founded by him did not endure long and it came to an end within 85 years, the rulers after Kaṇva being only three *viz.* Bhūmimitra, Nārāyaṇa and Sus'arman. In the meanwhile, a number of foreign races poured into India one after another and to their history we now turn.

GENEALOGY OF THE ŚUNGA DYNASTY*

B. C. 177 to B. C. 35.

	Vāya *	Matsya
Puṣyamitra.	60 years	36 years
Agnimitra.	8	omitted.
Sujyeṣṭha.	7	7
Vasumitra.	8	10
Ārdraka.	2	2
Pulindaka.	3	3
Ghoṣavasū.	3	omitted.
Vajramitra.	9	9
Bhāgavata.	32	32
Devabhūti.	10	10
	142 years.	109 years.

THE KANVA DYNASTY B. C. 35 to A. D. 50.

Vasudeva.	39
Bhūmimitra.	24
Nārāyaṇa.	12
Susarman.	10
	85

* Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa Book IV. chap. XXIV p. 190-194.

The duration of the Kanva dynasty is taken from the Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta.

भविष्यति समस्त्रिंशन्नव काण्वायनो नृपः

भूमिमित्रस्ततो भोक्ता चतुर्विंशति वत्सरान्.

भविता द्वादश समास्ततो नारायणो नृपः

सुशर्मा तत्सुतश्चापि भविष्यति समा दश.

चत्वारण्ये भूपालाः कण्वगोत्र समुद्भवाः

वर्मेण भोक्ष्यन्ति महीं पञ्चाशीतिन्तु वत्सरान्.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BACTRIAN-GREEKS IN INDIA.

206 B. C. to 50 A. D.



The first people to take advantage of the disruption that followed the decline and fall of the Maurya dynasty were the Bactrian Greeks, descended from those who had accompanied Alexander, in his march of conquest and were left in possession of the country, he had conquered in western and central Asia. Endowed with a martial spirit and trained to organise and lead armies, on account of their having fought under the greatest military leader of the time, they did not choose to settle down and lead an ignoble life, in the midst of the surroundings in which they suddenly found themselves, by his death, but attempted to retrieve their position as well as they could. Their efforts did not bear fruit at once because there was an internal struggle for supremacy between his numerous generals, of whom two viz. Antigonos and Seleukos succeeded in establishing their power. A struggle for ascendancy next ensued between them and the former was successful at first but the latter made another attempt and was eminently victorious for not only did he establish his sway over Babylon but brought the greater part of Western and Central Asia under his subjection. This brought him to the neighbourhood of India, and he directed his thoughts to recover the territory which Alexander had conquered,

but which had regained its independence, the moment Alexander left the Indian soil. He soon realised that the task was impossible, for, Chandragupta had by this time completely established his sovereignty over many a kingdom of the north and was thus able to put into the field, a force of 30,000 cavalry and 6,00,000 Infantry. Seleucus therefore thought it a wise policy to be on amicable terms with him and as we have seen Megasthenes and Deimachos were sent as ambassadors in the courts of Chandragupta and his successor.

Seleucus died in the year 261 B. C. and was succeeded by his grandson Antiochos Theos. He had not the ability of his grandfather so that the empire which he inherited became dismembered. Bactria comprising the province lying between the slopes of the Hindukush and the river Oxus became independent by the efforts of Diodotus I and Parthia by the efforts of Arsaces.

Of these, the kingdom founded by Diodotus had however a very chequered career, for during the reign of his successor, Diodotus II a leader named Euthedemos rebelled with a view to seize the Bactrian kingdom. The rebellion was successful but he was in his turn attacked by Antiochus the Great of Syria and a long war ensued in which neither was able to gain a decisive victory. A treaty was at last made and by the terms thereof, Antiochus recognised the independence of Bactria and it was cemented by the daughter of Antiochos being given in marriage to Demetrius, the son of Euthedemos.

Being thus free to deal with the other neighbouring states, Antiochus led an expedition to India in 206 B. C. and according to Polybius, succeeded in defeating an Indian ruler named Subhāgasena and levying from him

a tribute consisting of 150 elephants and a large treasure. He himself was unable to make any progress but his son-in law Demetrius continued the work begun by him and after establishing his sway over the Kabul Valley led an expedition to India. He was so successful that he is referred to as king of the Indians by Justin (XLI-6) and coins struck by him bear, in Kharoṣṭhi the proud legend Mahārājasa aparajitasa Demetriyusā.* His Indian conquests however cost him his Bactrian kingdom, for a person named Eucratides, taking advantage of his absence made himself master of the country Demetrius on receiving the information hastened to oust the usurper but he failed as his opponent offered him stubborn resistance and was able to defend himself against an army of 60000 with only 300 soldiers. The Bactrian kingdom thus changed hands again and Eucratides was not only able to win that but a considerable portion of Indian territory as may be inferred from the fact that coins bearing the inscription Maharajasa Eucratidasa and Rājādirājasa Eucratidasa have been found in places as far as Hālār and Junāghaḍ in Kathiawar † Demetrius however appears to have been able to retain his hold over some of his Indian conquests and from the coins of the Bactrian Greeks so far discovered it appears that he was the first to strike coins purely Indian in design, bearing on the obverse, the bust of the king wearing a helmet, having the head of an elephant with its trunk upraised and on the reverse, Anahid-the goddess of Bactria. The territory over which he ruled was the region round about Taxila

* Barnett-Antiquities of India p. 212.

† History of Gujarat (Bombay Gazetteer) p. 16.

and on his death, it passed into the hands of a Parthian chieftain named Maues as may be inferred from the fact that some of the coins struck by him are exact imitations of those issued by Demetrius, having on the obverse the head of the elephant and on the reverse, the caduceus

The dynasty founded by Eucratides continued to rule for some time longer. We do not possess any reliable account of his successors but from a brief notice preserved in Justin, it appears that Eucratides was succeeded by his son Apollodotus who had not only the baseness to murder his father but to drive his chariot over his corpse and then to order it to be thrown away. The coins of a king named Heliocles have been found and as some of the coins issued by him are dated in the year 173 of the Seleucidan era which commenced about the year 311 B. C, he may be regarded as having been in power in the year 138 B. C.

The only other king of whom we have any information other than that supplied by coins is Menander. There is nothing to show how he was related to any of the rulers mentioned before except that the coins struck by him have a close resemblance to those struck by Apollodotus, both of them having on the obverse, the bust of the king and on the reverse the figure of the Greek goddess Athene, hurling a thunderbolt. The territory held by him was very extensive because according to the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean sea*, small silver coins inscribed in Greek characters and bearing the names of these rulers were current in Barugaza or Broach, in his time, which is generally

estimated to be 240 A. D.* Strabo also refers to the large territory held, by him and observes that † the Greeks who occasioned the revolt of Bactria were so powerful by the fertility and advantages of that country that they became masters of Ariana and India. Their chiefs particularly Menander conquered more nations than Alexander and they got possession not only of Pattalene (Pātāl in Sindh) but of the kingdom of Saraostus (Surāstra) and Sigerdis (Sāgaradwīpa or Kachchha) which constituted the remainder of the coast. ”

Hindu literature too contains some references to the power which the Greeks wielded at the time. Thus, the Yavanas were besieging Sāketa, the Yavanas were besieging Madhyamikā are examples given by Patañjali to illustrate the imperfect tense. The Garga Saṁhitā also refers to them as the viciously valiant Yavanas and to their reducing Sāketa, the Pañchāla country and Mathurā. ‡

After the reign of Menander, the power of the Bactrian Greeks began to decline and they lost one by one their Indian provinces. Surāstra and Kachchha slipped away from their hands, to judge from the fact that no coins of kings later than Menander have been found in those places. Sindh was also lost and their Indian territory became confined to the Punjab where coins bearing the names of Strato I and Strato II have been found. In Western Bactria also, they met with a similar fate owing to the expansion of the Parthian empire under Mithridates I and the country to the west of the Indian border land was lost owing to the fact that the Scythians who were settled in the country to

* History of Gujarat-Bombay Gazetteer. p. 17

† Strabo Geog XI. 11.1

‡ P 76 Supra.

the north of Bactria, were pushed on further south by the advance of the Yuehchi, a Chinese tribe from the Mongolian steppes. These dispossessed the Śakas from their country whereupon they in their turn took possession of Bactria. They were however unable to retain it long and had to fight their way still further south where they settled in such large numbers that the province became known as Śakastān after them and is still known by the corrupted name of Sistān. The Greek rule in that country disappeared but it continued for some time in the Punjab border territory until the last of the Greek kings named Hermaeus was dispossessed by Kadphises I.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PARTHIANS.

120 B. C. to 60 A. D.



Of the two races who founded independent kingdoms for themselves on the decline of the dynasty founded by Seleucus Nikator, we have, in the previous chapter given an account of one viz the Bactrian Greeks. We now proceed to give the history of the other viz the Parthians. The person who laid the foundation of their power was one Arsaces whose origin is shrouded in much obscurity. He was according to Justin, leading at first the life of a bandit, but evidently possessed the ability and energy generally found in a man destined to be the founder of a dynasty. We thus find that when the power of the Seleucides began to decline, on the death of Seleucus Nikator, he took advantage of the opportunity to lay the foundation of a kingdom which played an important part in the history of Central Asia for a long time. He was succeeded by his son Tiridates known as Arsaces II and Tiridates by Artabanus I, Priapatius, and Phraates I in regular succession. All these have played a more or less important part in the history of Parthia but it was not till Phraates was succeeded by his brother Mithradates I (B. C. 171 to B. C. 136) that India came in touch with the Parthian power. Endowed by nature with a firm mind and great ability, this ruler expanded steadily the confines of the empire he had

inherited, in all directions. The Bactrian Greeks were the first to feel the force of his arms and so crushing was the blow he dealt to them first in the time of Eucratides and then in the reign of his successor, that their rule disappeared for ever from Bactria. * He next turned his attention to India and according to the statement of Orosius, annexed the country between the Indus and the Hydaspes, or in other words, the kingdom of Taxila in or about 138 B. C. He was unable to push his conquests further because there were countries in the neighbourhood of Parthia which were not subjugated by him and as these began to give him trouble, he had to retrace his steps back to the country. This naturally loosened his hold on his Indian possessions and taking advantage of the situation, a person named Maues made himself master of a considerable portion of the Indian territory which Mithradates had reduced to subjection. He is in the Taxila plate† called the great king and a number of coins struck by him have been found bearing the Greek legend 'Bāsileos Mauou'. The time when he flourished can be only fixed by having regard to contemporary evidence for though the Taxila plate is dated the 5th day of the month of Panemasa in the year 78, it does not specify the era to which it refers. Numismatic evidence however shows a great similarity between the coins struck by Demetrius and some of those struck by Maues, both of them having on the obverse the head of an elephant with the trunks upraised of almost identical size and from this, we may conclude that he must have risen to power after Demetrius, in about 120 B. C.

* The Story of the Nations-Parthia p. 69

† J. R. A. S. 1894. p. 552.

For a time, the dynasty founded by him was eclipsed by the rise of a rival dynasty founded by Vonones. It was so well established that on his death, the crown passed to his brother Spalyris and Spalagadama, the son of the latter but after him, the dynasty founded by Maues again rose to power and Azes I came to the throne. That he was connected with the house of Maues can be clearly seen from the fact that his coins having on the obverse the figure of Zeus and on the reverse that of the winged Nike appear to follow closely the coin of a similar type issued by Maues.* On the other hand, some of Aze's other coins, having on the obverse the figure of a king riding on horseback and on the reverse, Pallas, hurling a thunderbolt with her right hand and holding aegis in her left, while they differ from those of Maues, resemble those of Azilises and point to the conclusion that Azes was succeeded by Azilises.

Azilises was succeeded by Azes II and was assisted in the work of administration by the Satraps Aspavarma and Jihunia. As our information regarding these is gathered, as in the case of their predecessors, chiefly from their coins, we have no information regarding the events that happened in their reign. About the next king viz Gondophares, more information is available because an inscription relating to him has been found near Takht-i-Bāhi, north east of Peshāwar, dated the 5th day of the month of Vais'akha of the year 103. Dr. Fleet has pointed out that the era referred to is the

* Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum by Vincent Smith p. 39 (Ser. No. 6) and p. 43 (Ser. No. 1).

† Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum p. 44. No. 12 and p. 49. No. 1.

Samvat era and the year of the inscription would thus be 46 A. D. and as the inscription further mentions that the year 103 corresponded to the 25th year of his reign, the accession of Gondophares may be fixed to be 21 A. D.

The king was a very successful ruler as during his reign Sindh and Arachosia then ruled over by the descendants of another Parthian ruler viz. Vonones were reduced to subjection. In his reign, St. Thomas who was one of the twelve apostles sent to the different parts of the world for the purpose of spreading Christianity came to India and is said in the Christian legends to have converted the king, his brother and a large number of his subjects.

Gondophares died in 61 A. D. after a prosperous reign of 40 years and was succeeded by Abdagases in the province of Taxila and a ruler named Orthagnes in Arachosia. The power of the Parthians in India however began to decline thenceforth, owing to the rise of the S'akas and their expansion eastward from Sistān. Their dominion in Arachosia lasted some time longer as may be inferred from the fact that Orthagnes was succeeded by Pakores and the latter by Arsaces Dikaïos but as the Yuehchi pressed on, in their victorious career, the Parthians met the same fate as the Bactrian Greeks and the territory under their sway became reduced step by step until their power was finally exterminated in the reign of Kaniska. It however continued to linger for some time in the delta of the Indus for the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean sea* speaks of Parthian chiefs, being engaged in internal dissensions in the region.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK KINGS AND QUEENS.

No.	Name of the ruler.	Reference to the ruler in any place other than coins.
	Agathokleia.	
	Agathokles.	
	Amyntas.	
	Antialkidas.*	* Referred to in the Besnagar column as having sent an envoy to the court of Bhāgabhadra, the ruler of Vidisā. A. S. I. Annual Report 1913-4, p. 18.
	Antimachos. I	
	Antimachos. II	Mc Crindle's Periplus 121.
	Apollodotus.	
	Apollophanes.	
	Archebios.	
	Artemidoros.	
	Demetrius.	Referred to in the Yuga Purāṇa of the Vṛddha Garga Samhitā as the son of Utidama (Enthydemos); also by Justin-Wat son's Justin 277; Wilson's Ariana Antiqua p. 231.
	Diodotus. I	
	Diodotus. II	
	Diomedes.	
	Dionysios.	
	Epander.	
	Eucratides.	
	Enthydemos. I	Vide the remark against Demetrius.
	Enthydemos. II	
	Heliokles.	Referred to in the Yuga Purāṇa of Vṛddha Garga Samhitā.
	Hermaios.	
	Hippostratos.	
	Kalliope.	
	Laodike.	
	Lysias.	
	Menander.	* Same as king Milinda of the Buddhist Scriptures. Referred to by Strabo Bkxi Sec xi of Falconer's version; Mc Crindle's Periplus 121.
	Nikias.	
	Pantaleon.	
	Peukelaos.	
	Philoxenos.	
	Plato.	
	Polyxenos.	
	Strato. I	
	Strato. II	
	Telephos.	
	Theophilos.	
	Zoilos	

CHAPTER IX

THE NORTHERN KSATRAPAS

120 B. C. TO 78 A. D.

The extinction of the Bactrio-Greek and the Parthian supremacy in India paved the way for the rule of yet another alien race viz. the Śakas. We have already seen how the advance of the Yuehchi compelled them to leave their country south of the Oxus and to settle in the country now known as Sistān, and as this brought them into close touch with India and the country to its west, their services were evidently utilised by various rulers who were trying to win a dominion for themselves in these parts. This, at least, is the conclusion to which one is led by Archaeological discoveries; for, one of the earliest of these Śakas viz. Liaka, the father of Patika, in whose name the Taxila plate is inscribed is called a Satrap—a term used to denote ‘provincial governors’ by the Persian potentates and this coupled with the fact that the king Maues is referred to in the plate quite respectfully as the ‘great king’ points to the conclusion that they owed their position to the Parthian rulers. The Taxila plate also states that Liaka was the governor of Chhahara and Chukhsa identified by Sir A. Cuningham* with the modern Shahr Sukh the place where the inscription was found, but Dr. Buhler who has reedited this plate in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IV remarks that Chukhsa may be a form of Choska which means a horse from the Indus and in that case, the territory over which Liaka ruled would comprise a portion of the Punjab as far as the river.

* Reports V. p. 68.

Liaka Kusulaka was succeeded by his son **Patika** and he is called a **Mahāksatrapa** in the inscription of the lion capital at **Mathurā**, * an epithet which evidently points to an increase in his power. Besides this, the names of four other Satraps have been so far discovered viz **Aspavarma** and **Jihunia** of the time of **Azes II** and **Sapedanes** and **Satavastra**, whose coins were found associated with those of **Gondophares**. † No details other than these are known of the Satraps of **Taxila** but we have fuller details of another branch viz. of the one that ruled at **Mathurā**.

Mathurā was ruled before them, by a native dynasty and the names of its rulers have been fortunately preserved owing to the fact that after the model of the Greek and Parthian rulers and contrary to the system which was adopted by the kings who issued the punch marked coins, their coinage bears their names. ‡ There is, however, no reference to any of these in the literature of the period and though the **Viṣṇu Purāṇa** and the **Vāyu Purāṇa** prophesy that " nine **nāgas** will reign in **Mathurā** " no details are given, making it impossible to ascertain their relations to any of the kings of **Mathurā** mentioned above.

It is equally difficult to say which rulers are alluded to when it is said that ten **Gardabhilas** and sixteen **Śakas** will rule in **India**. It is however important to note that according to **Dr Bhagavanlal Indraji's** version

* *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IX p. 135; also IX. 247.

† *A. S. I.* 1913.-4 p. 15.

‡ So far coins of thirteen kings have been discovered. viz **Balabhūti**, **Puruṣadatta**, **Bhavadatta**, **Uttamadatta**, **Rāmadatta**, **Gomitra**, **Viṣṇumitra**, **Brahmamitra**, **Suya** (**Sūrya**), **Śiṣadatta**, **Kāmadatta**, **Śivadatta**, and **Śisachandradatta**.

of the Taxila plate, there is a distinct reference in it to "Gardabha" kinsfolk and this would scarcely leave any doubt that the rulers referred to are the Northern Kṣatrapas. The names of a number of other sâtraps have been also discovered viz Mahākṣatrapa, Rājūvula, * the satraps Mevaki Miyika, Khardaa and Sudāsa, + mentioned in the inscriptions on the lion capital at Mathurā, the Satraps Hagāna and Hagāmāsha known from their coins,† the Satrap Vanaṣpara the Mahākṣatrapa Kharapallāna ‡ known from the inscriptions at Sārnāth and the satraps Gaṇakpvaḥ and his son Kavos'ia § The total number of satraps whose names have been discovered so far is thus sixteen including those who ruled at Taxila and as in the case of some, such as Patika and Aspavarma, the suzerain is mentioned, their dates will of course correspond to the date of their master. In others, their relationship to those whose position is definitely known serves as a guide as in the case of Liaka and Sasan the nephew of Aspavarmen but in the majority of the cases, a great uncertainty exists regarding the time when they flourished.

It however appears from numismatic evidence that the Satraps Hagāna and Hagāmāsha were the earliest and ruled together, their coins bearing the inscription "Khatapānā Hagāna Hagāmāshasa and that Hagāmāsha was the younger and the survivor, as coins which bear his name alone have also been found. Of the rest, the

* J. R. A. S. 1907 p. 1024. + Epi Ind II p. 199; IX p. 246-8.

† V. Smith's Cat. of Coins in the Ind Museum p. 190

‡ Epi Ind VIII p. 173;

§ Epi Ind XII p. 299.

more prominent were the Satraps Rajula-Ranjubula or Rājuvula of the coins and his son Śodāsa * He is only called a Satrap in the inscription on the lion capital at Mathurā but later on, attained the rank of a Mahā kṣatrapa and is so called in the Mathurā inscriptions. †

Of the coins issued by these rulers, those of Ranjubula have been found in the district of Jālandhar ‡ in the Farrukhābād District of the United Provinces and some associated with those of his son Śodāsa in the district of Mainpuri § From this, it would appear that their territory was very extensive comprising the region from the Kāngrā Valley at the foot of the Himālayas to Multān in one direction and to Māthurā in the other. A notable feature about these Satraps is that though foreigners, they were all Buddhists by religion and belonged to the school of Sarvāstivādins as opposed to that of the Mahāsaṃghikas referred to before. Nor were they Buddhists only in name, for a number of donations made by them, in honour of their religion have been found. Thus, the Taxila plate so often referred to, records the placing of a relic of the divine Sākya Muni by Patika in a place situated to the north of Taxila and the inscriptions of the lion capital at Mathurā commemorate the deposit of a relic of Buddha by the queen of the great Satrap Rājula.

* The correct spelling is Śomḍāsa according to Kielhorn Epi Ind IX p. 248.

† Epi Ind II p. 195.

‡ Reports XIV 57 § Reports XI 25-38

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE OF THE KINGS OF BACTRIA, PUNJAB AND THE N. W. PROVINCES AND OF THE SATRAPS OF TAXILA AND MATHURA

Date.	Syria.	Bactria.	Punjab and the N. W. Provinces.	Taxila.	Mathurā.
B.C. 223 to 187	Antiochus Daughter	Euthedemus. Demetrius. Eucratides. Apollodotus Heliocles			
B. C. 138 B. C. 120			Maues Vonones. Spalyris.	Liaka. Patika.	Hagāna. Hagāmāsha } Rājuvula. Sodāsa.
50 B. c.			Azes I. Azilises. Azes II.	Aspavarma J ihunia.	
A.D. 21			Gondophar- es.	Sapedanes. Satavastra	

- (1) The date of Antiochus is definitely known to be B.C. 223 to 187. His daughter married Demetrius.
- (2) The date of Heliocles is 138 B.C. according to his coins (Burgess' report of Kathiawad and Kachchha p. 31)
- (3) The date of Azes I is fixed to be 50 B.C. in A. S. I. 1913-14 p. 14.

CHAPTER X

THE YUEH-CHI IN INDIA

45 A. D. TO 225 A. D.

The Yueh-chi who swept away the last vestige of the kingdoms the Bactrian Greeks, the Parthians and the Śakas had built in Bactria, Arachosia and the Punjab was a Chinese tribe staying in the country now known as Chinese Turkestan. According to the Chinese historian Ssu-ma-chien, it sustained a severe defeat at the hands of another tribe called the Hiung-nū in the year B. C. 165 and was consequently obliged to migrate westward in search of a new home for itself and fresh pastures for its cattle. They passed along the route to the north of the desert of Gobi and defeated Wu Sun another Chinese tribe, which had settled in the country. Still advancing, they came to the country in the occupation of the Se or Śakas but the Yueh-chi succeeded in ousting them from it and establishing themselves in their place; they were however unable to retain their hold over the country for a long time because they in their turn were driven away from the country by a son of the Wu-sun chief whom they had slain and were thus compelled to retire still further where they came in contact with a people known as the Ta-hia settled on the northern bank of the Oxus. They gained an easy victory over the latter and the country having thus passed into their hands, they remained there for a long time giving up their nomad life and acquiring settled

habits. As years rolled on, their numbers increased and this led them to attempt the acquisition of more territory for themselves. The country to the south of the Oxus was first subdued and as this made them the neighbours of the Bactrian Greeks, a struggle for supremacy ensued in which the latter were worsted and the Greek rule disappeared for ever from the country.

Their victorious career however received a fresh check at this stage for the country in their neighbourhood was in the possession of the Parthians who had wrenched it from the Bactrians and had steadily expanded the limits of their kingdom from this central basis, till the whole of Arachosia, together with a considerable portion of the Punjab was brought under their sway. However, their power too declined in course of time and this coupled with the fact that Kadphises I had succeeded in uniting the five principalities into which they had been divided into one homogeneous whole gave a fresh impetus to their ambition and the country which had lately been under Parthian sway was one by one reduced to subjection. The region round about Kābul which was still under the Bactrian Greeks was also reduced about 60 A. D. and the kingdom of Kadphises thus extended from the frontiers of Persia in the west to the Indus on the east including Sogdiana and the whole of the modern kingdom of Afghānistān.

No inscription relating to Kadphises has been found but the history of his conquests is, as pointed out by Mr. Vincent Smith well illustrated by his coins. Thus, he at first struck coins jointly in the name of himself and the Greek prince Hermæus retaining on the obverse,

the portrait of Hermæus with his title in Greek letters. After a time, while still preserving the familiar portrait he substituted his own name in the legend. The next step was to replace the bust of Hermæus by that of Augustus. Still later, are those coins which dispense altogether with the royal portrait and have on the obverse, the Indian bull and on the reverse, a Bactrian camel, devices fitly symbolising the conquest of India by a horde of nomads.

The king lived to the long age of eighty and was succeeded by his son Kadphises II in about 85 A. D. He was as energetic as his father, and extended the limits of the Kushān empire, till it included the whole of Afghānistān, Bokhārā and a part of Russian Turkestān on the one hand and the country probably extending as far as Benares in India on the other. His reign lasted for forty years and he was succeeded by Kanīṣka in about 125 A. D.

And this brings us to the threshold of one of the most controversial periods of Indian history viz the reign of Kanīṣka.* The question is whether he preceded the Kadphises or followed them and when did he reign. Fortunately, the first of these controversies has been set at rest by the discoveries made in the Chira Stupa in 1912-13.† Here Dr. Marshall found buildings in four strata one above the other. In each stratum, a different type of masonry was used in its construction and

* The name is spelt in the inscriptions also as Kanīṣka Kānīṣka and Kanīṣka (Epi. Ind IX 240) See also Epi Ind XIV p. 180.

† See J. R. A. S. -Oct 1914; April 1915.

with each stratum were associated coins of the kings or dynasties referred to below

Stratum.	Masonry construction	Coins.
Uppermost	Semi-Ashlar, Semi diaper.	Vāsudeva and later Kushāns.
Second.	Large diaper.	Kaniṣka, Huviṣka & Vāsudeva.
Third.	Small diaper.	Kadphises I & II.
Fourth.	Rubble and kanjar	Śaka and Pahlava.

In the city of Sirkap also, precisely the same stratification was found so far as the third, fourth and the strata earlier than these were concerned but the city was deserted before any buildings of the 1st. and 2nd. classes were erected and there were consequently no coins of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka or Vāsudeva, but numerous coins of Kadphises I and II, of the Śaka and Pahlava kings and of the Greeks.

As regards the other question, a number of inscriptions relating to Kaniṣka and his successors bearing dates varying from 4 to 99 have been found, but it has not been found possible so far to fix, beyond doubt, the era to which they refer. Sir A. Cunningham was of opinion that the dates should be referred to the Vikrama era. Mr. Vincent Smith holds that the dates belong to the Laukika era, current in Kāshmir, and the neighbouring country, according to the Rājataranṅiṇi; according to Professor Oldenburg, Kaniṣka was the founder of the Śaka era; while some are, inclined to think that the

dates have a reference to an era specially founded by Kaniska. The brief sketch given above of the progress of the Yuehchi as gathered from reliable Chinese sources, coupled with the undoubted existence of a Bactrio Greek and Parthian domination in India, in the first century before the Christian era will show that the dates, if referred to the Vikram era, will conflict with other historical facts as ascertained from independent sources. The main objection against the Śaka era is that it was popular only in the south of India. The theory of the Laukika era is advanced by Mr. Vincent Smith in his article regarding the Kushan period of Indian history in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1903, but as in practice, the tens and units only are mentioned in specifying the era and the hundreds and thousands omitted, we have in ascertaining the latter to depend upon contemporary evidence. More over, one inscription at least has been found where the hundreds are not omitted.* We therefore conclude that the dates refer to an era specially founded by Kaniska and this derives considerable support from the way in which the dates are mentioned in some of the inscriptions relating to him † and the latest researches on the subject.‡

The king undoubtedly was the greatest of the Yuehchi kings for he was master not only of the kingdom which he inherited from his predecessors but of considerable territory besides. Thus, the Rājatarāṅgiṇi expressly mentions him among the rulers of Kāshmir. Hiuen Tsang even states that he governed the whole

* Epi. Ind. p X p. 79.

† Vide Epi Ind. X p 4-5 Apx.

‡ Epi Ind XIV 130.

of Jambudvīpa, though this statement is undoubtedly exaggerated, no proof having yet been found of his having any territory south of the Narmadā. There is however no doubt that he reduced to subjection the country of Kāshgar Yārkand and Khotān. Kadphises II had tried to conquer these provinces before him but he had failed; Kaniṣka renewed the attempt and as Kāshmir with the country in its neighbourhood was completely subject to his authority, he accomplished his task without meeting with any serious opposition. The king's fame however does not rest so much upon his conquests as on the intelligent interest he took in the Buddhist religion. A close and minute study of its tenets soon disclosed to him the fact that the different schools which had sprung up after the death of Buddha held such divergent views on one and the same subject that it was impossible to get any accurate idea regarding the tenets of the religion founded by him. Each school respected the treatise of its master and the Buddhist congregation was torn up by internal dissensions. Kaniṣka therefore decided to convene a meeting to settle the principal rules and his invitation received a hearty response for as Hiuen Tsang says * "Men the most distinguished for talents and for holiness of life came together from the four quarters and like stars, they hurried together for myriads of li." In fact the concourse was so great that Kaniṣka was obliged to confine the assembly to those who were versed in the three Piṭakas and even these did not consist of less than 499 men. All questions bearing upon the Buddhist religion were by these persons minutely discussed in all

* Buddhist Records of the Western World.

their bearings and the results embodied in the *Upadesa s'āstra* explaining the *Sūtra Piṭaka*, the *Vinaya Vibhāṣā Śāstra*, explaining the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the *Abhidharma Vibhāṣa Śāstra* explaining the *Abhidharma Piṭaka*. These discourses, we are told, were also engraved on sheets of red copper and after being enclosed in a stone receptacle were deposited in a *stūpa* specially erected for the purpose.

Besides this, *Kaṇiṣka* built a number of other buildings, chief amongst which was a *stūpa* containing the relics of Buddha and consisting of 5 stories, each 150 feet in height and a base a li and a half in circumference; near it was another *stūpa*, much smaller in size, about which many miraculous stories were told. Both of them were extant when *Hiuen Tsang* visited the place and one of the most remarkable achievements of the Archaeological Department has been the tracing of the site of this *stūpa*, as a result of the labours of *Dr. Spooner*. The structure which he unearthed was found to be 285 feet from side to side, that is, nearly 100 feet in excess of any other monument of the class existing in India. In its centre, there was a chamber, and within this chamber, still standing upright in the corner, where it had been placed, some nineteen centuries ago, *Dr. Spooner* found a metal casket and within it, the relics of Buddha enclosed in a reliquary of rock crystal. The casket similar to a Greek "pyxis" in shape, has a height of some 7 inches and a diameter of nearly 5" and the lid which is slightly curved and incised to represent a full blown lotus, supports three figures, a seated Buddha in the centre, and a *Bodhisattva* on each side. The edge of the lid is further adorned by a frieze in low relief

of flying geese bearing wreaths in their beaks, while below, on the body of the base is an elaborate design, in high relief, of young Erotes bearing a continuous garland, in the undulations of which are seated Buddha figures and attendant worshippers. The most interesting figure in the casket however is that of Kaniṣka himself standing erect with a winged celestial bearing a wreath on either side. It resembles the figure of the Emperor as we find it in his coins, but the identity is proved beyond doubt by an inscription on the casket, in Kharoṣṭhi, four in number and punctured in dots. Their purport is as follows :—

- (1) For the acceptance of the teachers of the Sarvāstivādin sect.
- (2)—This is not legible but the name of Kaniṣka certainly occurs.—
- (3) May this pious gift be for the welfare and the happiness of all beings.
- (4) Agesilaus, the overseer of works at Kaniṣka's vihāra in the Sanghārāma of Mahes'vara. *

A number of other inscriptions belonging to the reign of Kaniṣka have also been found but they unfortunately contain no historical information. As they are all dated, they however enable us to form a pretty correct idea of the length of Kaniṣka's reign and show that it lasted for twenty-three years at least.

According to the Rājatarāṅgiṇi, Kaniṣka built the city of Kaniṣkapura which according to Dr. Stein is now

* J. . R. A. S. 1909 and A. S. I. 1909-10 p. 35.

represented by the village of Kanīṣpur situated between the Vitasta and the high road leading from Varahamula to Śrīnagar. It also states that Juṣka built the town of Juṣkapura probably the same as Zukur, a large village to the north of Śrīnagar. The ruler was at one time identified with Shāhi Vāsiṣka * of the inscriptions and Vāsudeva of the coins but it is now found that the identification is incorrect, Vāsiṣka being a person different from Vāsudeva. † He reigned between the years 24 and 28 of the Kuṣana era and was followed by Huṣka or Huviṣka whose reign lasted between the years 33 and 60. As the Āra inscription which is dated in the year 41 refers to Kanīṣka the son of Vajheṣka, it would appear that after the death of Vāsiṣka, the kingdom became divided, Kanīṣka II ruling in the north while Huviṣka ‡ reigned in India proper. In the opinion of Dr. Fleet however Kanīṣka II should be placed after Vāsudeva in which case the year 41 must be assumed to belong to an era different from that generally used by the Kuṣana kings.

The evidence of coins and inscriptions shows that the empire which Huviṣka inherited from his predecessor continued in tact during his reign and included Kāshmir and he too was a great patron of Buddhism. The town of Huṣkapura now represented by a small village named Uskur was founded by him and he built there a monastery which was in tact when Hiuen Tsang visited the place. Besides these, there were a large number of religious building distributed over the whole country.

* Also called Vāsuṣka Epi Ind X p. 26 Apx.

† See Epi Ind XIV p. 130.

‡ It is also spelt Hukṣa Epi Ind Vol II p. 206.

The coins of the king show a rich variety in design, and bear figures both of Grecian gods, such as Heracles, Sarapis etc and Indian gods such as Skanda, Visakha etc and some of these bear on them the portrait of the king. A huge sculpture much resembling the figure of the king as given in his coins has been found at Sahri Bahlol * and it is quite possible that in it, we have a very faithful representation of the king on an enlarged scale. According to the dates marked on the inscriptions relating to him, the king reigned from the year 29 to 60 of the Kuṣana era and was succeeded by Vāsudeva, relating to whom also, a number of inscriptions, have been found bearing dates extending from the year 74 to 99 † and covering such widely separated regions such as Mathurā, Kaman in the Bharatpur State, Rāmnagar and Sānchi.

He was the last important ruler of the dynasty, though different members of the dynasty appear to have ruled over various tracts in the north-west and are referred to as Shāhis in the Allāhbād inscription of Samudragupta. Of the causes that led to their downfall, nothing is known but it is somewhat remarkable to find that though the rulers were distinctly foreigners their rule is specifically said to be benevolent in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. It is the more remarkable because there are quite a number of distinctly Indian rulers whose reign is strongly condemned in the Kāshmir chronicle. Probably, the secret of their popularity lay in the fact that they were all staunch Buddhists in religion and did as much to encourage the religion as any Indian ruler.

* A. S. I. 1909-10.

† Epi. Ind. X. 117.

Note:—The question regarding the Kuṣana kings and their chronology has been discussed by Dr. Sten Konow while editing the Āra inscription (Epi Ind Vol. XIV p. 130) Following Dr. Marshall, he holds, that the two Kadphises preceded Kaniṣka and he was followed by Vāsiṣka Sam 24-28; Huviṣka-Sam 29-60 and Vāsudeva Sam. 74-98. Vāsiṣka was also followed by Kaniṣka II after his demise as a ruler in the north-west but later on, Huviṣka also became a master of that region. The inscription is referred by him to the last quarter of the second century A. D.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE KUṢANA KINGS.

Name of the king	From	To
Kadphises I	A.D 45	A.D 85
Kadphises II	A.D 85	A.D 125
Kaniṣka I	A.D 125	A.D 148
Vajheṣka or Vasiṣka	A.D 148	A.D 154
Huviṣka }	A.D 154	A.D 184
Kaniṣka II }	A.D 166	
Vāsudeva	A.D 198	A.D 222

CHAPTER XI

THE WESTERN KSATRAPAS

78 A. D. TO 388 A. D.



Although the Śāka dominion came abruptly to an end in Northern India, owing to the victorious advance of the Yueh-chi, the race succeeded in making up the loss by establishing in the west of India a dynasty which lasted for more than 300 years and of which not less than 28 rulers are known to have ruled.

The earliest of these Satraps* was Bhūmaka and he was followed by Nahapāna who was undoubtedly the greatest of the Western satraps and laid the foundations of the Śāka kingdom in Kāthiāwād and Gujarāt. In his coins which bear various legends e. g. Raño Chhaharātasa Nahapānasa. Raño Chhaharātasa or Raño Kṣaharātasa Nahapānasa, he is inevitably referred to as a king but he is called a Kṣatrapa in the inscription of his son-in-law Uṣavadāta at Nāsik.† As the inscription gives valuable information regarding his reign, it appears necessary to refer to it at length. It runs:—

Success ! Uṣavadāta, Dinika's son, son-in law of Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa, who has given three hundred thousand cows, who has made gifts of money and Tīrthas on the river Bārnāsa (Banās river near Abu in Northern Gujarat) who had given sixteen villages to gods and Brāhmaṇas, who causes one hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas to be fed the whole year round,

* J. R. A. S. 1904.

† Epi. In. Vol. VIII.

who has given eight wives to Brāhmaṇas, at the religious tirtha of Prabhāsa (in Kathiāwād) who at Bharukachha, Das'apura, Govardhan and Sorpārāga (Sopārā) has given the shelter of quadrangular rest houses, who has made wells, tanks and gardens, who has out of charity established free ferries by boats on the Ibā, Pārāda, Damanā, Tāpi, Karabenā and Dāhānuka and erected on both the banks of these rivers shelters for meeting and for gratuitous distribution of water, who has given thirty two thousand stems of cocoanut trees at the village of Nanamgola (Nārgol on the Thana coast) to the congregation of Charakas at Piṇḍitakāvaḍa, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha and Rāmatirtha in Sopārāga, inspired by true religion, in the Triras'mi hills at Govardhana has caused these caves to be made and these cisterns. "

Another inscription relating to him runs as follows:-

" Success. In the year 42, in the month of Vis'ākha Uṣavadāta, son-in law of king Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa, has bestowed the cave on the Saṁgha generally." Besides, he is mentioned in the inscriptions at Karle and Junnar of which the last mentioned is dated in the year 46 and refers to his minister Ayama.

The first of these inscriptions gives us a pretty clear idea of the extent of the kingdom founded by him. We are for instance told that he established ferries over the Ibā, the Pārāda, the Damanā, the Tāpi the Karabenā and the Dāhānukā, of which the Ibā has been identified to be the same as Ambikā and Pārāda and the Damanā to be the Pār and Damangangā. Tāpi is still known by that name and the Dahanukā is the Dahanu river. The establishment of ferries being a

sovereign right, it would follow that he was a complete master of the territory on both sides of the rivers. The places where his coins are found bear out this inference for they have been traced in places as far north as Mandasor-Dasapura of the inscription in Rājputāna and as far south as Nāsik, the number of coins discovered at the latter being as many as 15000. They have also been found in Kāthiāwād and we have thus indubitable proof that Nahapāna was the owner of a flourishing kingdom which extended from Mandasor in the north to Dahanu in the south, the eastern boundary including Nāsik and the western Kāthiāwād.

His power being firmly established, Nahapāna does not appear to have been troubled by his neighbours, for there is no reference to any ruler or tribe with whom he had to wage war, in any of the inscriptions relating to him. On the other hand, Uṣavadāta is said in the Nāsik inscription to have led an expedition against the Mālavas to release the chief of the Uttambhadrās and the enemy is said to have fled at his mere approach. There is some doubt as to who these Mālavaś were for they are by some scholars identified with the Mālavas in Rājputāna and by others with the Malavas in the south.* As however, the inscription recording the event goes on to mention that from the country of the Mālavas, he went to Pokhara—the same as Puṣkara in Ajmer, it would seem that the Mālavas are the people referred to; and this is confirmed by the fact that a number of inscriptions have been discovered which show

* Epi. In Vol. VIII p. 81; see also Iyer's *Historical Sketches* p. 129.

that the Mālavas were established in great strength in Mālavā and that Puṣkarana was their capital. †

The date of Nahapāna cannot be definitely fixed, as there is no guide to enable us to fix the era to which the dated inscriptions refer. It is however generally agreed that the era referred to is the Śaka ‡ and as the language of the inscriptions makes it clear that Nahapāna was alive at the time of the inscription of Uṣavadāta dated in the year 42 and that of his minister Ayama dated in the year 46, Nahapāna must have reigned from the year 78 A. D. to 124 A. D.

Besides the dynasty of Nahapāna another dynasty of the Śakas was founded by Chaṣṭana the son Ysamotika, The history of his early career is shrouded in obscurity but it is likely that he is the same as Tiastanes mentioned by Ptolemy as ruling at Ozen (Ujjain) and this inference derives considerable support from the fact that his coins have been found as far north as Ajmer. He, however, does not appear to have made any extensive conquests and his son Jayadāman who is only called a Kṣatrapa in the inscriptions of his dynasty, also did not add any territory to his paternal inheritance but the dynasty rose at once into power and eminence in the reign of the third prince of the family viz Rudradāman.

Our chief source of information regarding the reign of this great satrap is his inscription on the famous Girnar rock, referred to before, as containing the edicts of As'oka. It is concerned chiefly with a description of the damage done to the Sudars'ana lake, first constructed by Chandragupta which was

† Epi Ind XII p. 315.

‡ History of Gujarat-Bom. Gaz p. 166.

breached in the time of Rudradāman but as usual it gives a brief description of the achievements of the ruler in whose time the event happened. He was, it says, the lord of the whole of the eastern and western Ākarāvanti, the Anūpa country, Anarta Surāṣṭra Śva-bhra, Maru, Kachchha Sindhu Sauvīra, Kukura Aparānta Niṣāda and other territories gained by his own valour. The inscription further refers to a conflict with the Lord of Dakṣināpātīa and goes on to say that the latter was twice defeated and was not destroyed only on account of their past connection. Rudradāman also destroyed the Yaudheyas "who had acquired fame as brave warriors and were too proud to submit."

The king was not only a great warrior but a learned man skilled in grammar, music and other sciences. He was also acquainted with the management of horses, chariots and elephants, was a great adept in the use of the sword and the shield and in pugilistic combat. The people were in his time not oppressed by taxes, forced labour and other like exactions and yet, the treasury was full of gold, silver, diamonds and other precious stones. Towns, marts and villages were free from robbers, wild beasts, snakes and disease and the people were naturally devoted to the ruler through whose prowess, they enjoyed the blessings of peace.

The description of the Sudars'ana lake is of great importance as giving us a very faithful idea of the care with which irrigation works of public utility were constructed and maintained even in these remote times. It was built, we are told, first in the time of the Emperor Chandragupta and adorned with conduits in the reign of Asoka by the Yavana King Tushāspa. In the reign

of Rudradāman-Śaka 72 or A. D. 150, a breach 420 cubits long and 420 cubits broad occurred in the embankment owing to excessive rain " which converted the earth into an ocean " and which in its fury resembled the end of a mundane period. Reparation was at first despaired of and the king's counsellors and executive officers were against it being undertaken but Suviṣākha, the son of Kulaipa a Pahlava, who was appointed the governor of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra took up the work for the benefit of the people and his labours were crowned with success.

The king was on his demise succeeded by his son Dāmāzaḍa or Dāmājaḍas'rī, he by his son Jīvadāman and the last mentioned ruler by his uncle Rudrasimha. The coins of Jivadāman bear the dates 100 and 118 (Śaka) corresponding to 178 and 196 A. D. while those Rudrasimha bear dates ranging from 103 to 118 (Śaka) of corresponding to 181 to 196 A. D. and from this, it would seem that in the third year of the reign of Jivadāman there was a struggle for supremacy between him and his uncle in which the latter succeeded so that he reigned from 181 to 196 A. D. In that year, Rudrasimha died whereupon Jivadāman again seized the throne and struck fresh coins in his name.

Besides this, no other information is available regarding Jivadāman but an inscription dated in the year 108 of Rudrasimha has been found at Gunda in Hālār in Kāthiāwād, which refers to the digging of a well on the border of a village named Rasopadra by the commander in chief Rudrabhūti, an Abhīra son of Senāpati Bāpaka. This suggests that there was some intimate relation between Bāpaka and Rudrasimha but in the

absence of details, it is difficult to draw any further conclusions.

He was succeeded by his son Rudrasena relating to whom two inscriptions have been found, one at Mulvāsar ten miles north-east of Dwārakā and the other at Jasdan dated respectively in the year 122 and 126 (A. D. 200 204). His coins bear dates ranging from 125 to 142 and he reigned from A. D. 200 to A. D. 220.

The next rulers were his son Prthivīsenā (A. D. 223) Sanghadāman-the brother of Rudrasena (222 A. D. to 226 A. D.) and Dāmasena another brother of Rudrasena (226-236 A. D.) The last mentioned ruler was succeeded by a son of Rudrasena-Dāmajaḍas'ri II, whose coins bear the date 154 or 232 A. D. It would thus appear that he was ruling independently somewhere at the time Dāmasena was ruling over the main Kṣatrapa kingdom and that there was an internal war between the members of dynasty in which Dāmasena was successful so that on his demise the crown passed to his sons Viradāman (A. D 236-238), Yas'adāman II (A. D. 238-239), Vijayasena (238-249) and Dāmājaḍas'ri III (A. D. 251 255) in succession. Both Viradāman and Yas'adāman are only called Kṣatrapas in their coins but Vijayasena is called a Mahākṣatrapa which was probably due to the fact that the internal troubles begun in the time of Dāmājaḍas'ri II were revived in the time of the first two of these rulers so that each of them ruled over a portion of the Kṣatrapa kingdom until Vijayasena succeeded in winning back the whole of the Kṣatrapa dominion for himself and thus earned the title and dignity of the Mahākṣatrapa.

Dāmājadās'ri III was succeeded by Rudrasena II, the son of Viradāman and as both of them are called Mahākṣatrapas in the coins, we may presume that like Vijāyasena they ruled over the whole of the Kṣatrapa kingdom. Rudrasena was succeeded by his son Vis'vasimha (272-278 A. D.), he by his brother Bharttridāman (278-294 A. D.) and Bharttridāman by Vis'vasena (296-300 A. D.). A hoard of coins found in 1861 near Karād on the Kṛṣṇā contained the coins of the last six rulers, showing that the Kṣatrapa rule continued in north Konkan as late as 300 A. D. in addition to that in Kathiawad which was the most important part of their kingdom.

With Vis'vasena, the line descended from Chaṣṭana ended, the next ruler being Rudrasimha, the son of Svāmi Jivadāman who does not appear to have been related to any member of the Chaṣṭana dynasty. The legends on the coins furnish the following names of the member of the dynasty viz.

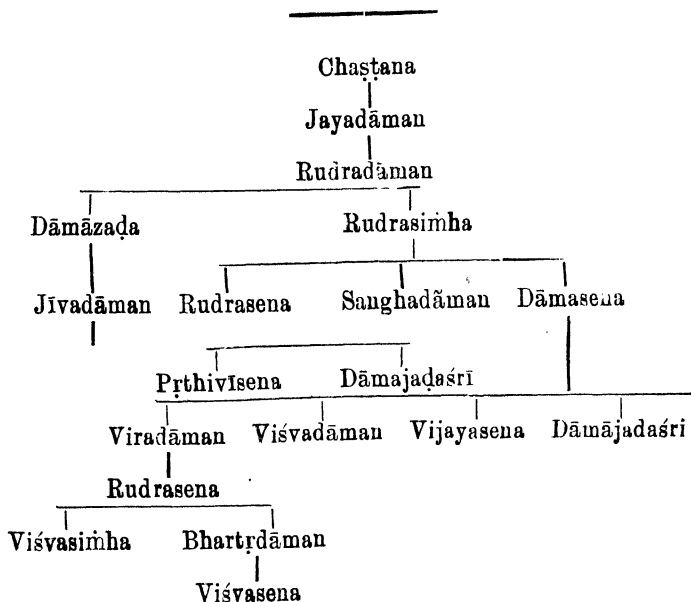
- (1) Svāmi Jivadāman.
- (2) Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha, son of (1)-A. D. 308-18
- (3) „ Yas'adāman, son of (2)-A. D. 318
- (4) Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasiri son of (2)-A. D. 320

After Dāmasiri, there was again a break in the line, the next ruler being Mahātrṣakapa Rudrasena, the son of Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudradāman whose coins bear dates varying from A. D. 348 to A. D. 376. He sent an embassy to Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty evidently with the intention of cultivating friendly relations with the Gupta rulers who were firmly established as the paramount power in India about the time and though this prevented the Kṣatrapa dominion from

any aggression in the time of Samudragupta, his successor Chandragupta II took advantage of the profligacy of the next ruler Rudrasena, the son of Satyasena and as Bāṇa tells us, " the king of the Śakas while courting another man's wife was butchered by Chandragupta, concealed in his mistress' dress. "



THE DYNASTY OF CHASTANA.



CHAPTER XII

THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN RULE ON INDIAN ART AND CIVILISATION.



We have now seen how on the decline of the Maurya dynasty a number of tribes poured into India one after another and held India in their iron grip for upwards of six hundred years. Foreign though their rule was, it was not without its beneficent aspect and a short sketch of its leading features will not be out of place.

About the details of their administration, our information is scanty but such little information as we have, shows that that the foreign element was conspicuous in it. What is somewhat strange is that such was the case not only so far as the foreign dynasties were concerned but even in the case of the Mauryas; for, the inscription of Rudradāman quite distinctly states that the provincial governor of Kāthiāwād in the time of Chandragupta was the Yavana king Tushāspa. In the time of Rudradāman himself, the governor was Suviṣākha, a Pahlava which is not less striking seeing that he himself was a Śaka.

But while it is undoubted that there was a marked foreign element in the machinery of Indian administration, even in this early period of its history, it is equally clear that it had adapted itself thoroughly to its environments and was completely assimilated into the vast mass of the Indian people. The chief reason that led to this

result was the adoption by the foreign people of one or other of the prevalent religions of India. This appears hardly believable at first but it is true; in fact, it is a most astonishing feature of the History of India that we find here, as we find nowhere else, the invaders adopting the faith of the country they invaded, instead of forcing their religion upon the people whom they reduced to subjection.

The evidence from which this conclusion is drawn is not conjectural but based on inscriptions and other facts of undoubted veracity. One of the most well known instances is afforded by the Besnagar Inscription which distinctly refers to Heliodorus son of Dion, an envoy of King Antialkidas—a Bhāgavata or a follower of the cult of Kṛṣṇa. The Nāsik inscription of Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna also shows that though a Śaka himself he had adopted the Brāhmanic faith for, he is therein said to have given sixteen villages to gods and Brāhmaṇas and caused one hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas to be fed the whole year round. He is also said to have given eight wives to Brāhmaṇas at the religious place (tirtha) of Prabhāsa an act characteristically Brahmanic which is referred to in the Śāstras as especially meritorious.

As regards Buddhism, the references to the foreign rulers having adopted the faith are numerous and show that they adopted the faith not only in name but took an active interest in the many sects into which it was divided and attached themselves to one or the other, according to their convictions. Thus, the Satrap Patika belonged to the Sarvāstivādin school, according to the Taxila plate while in the Sarnath inscription, a king

named As'vaghōṣa is referred to as doing homage to the masters of the Sammitiya sect—the Vatsiputrikas, Vatsiputra being one of the fathers of the Buddhist church who collected the words of Buddha, two hundred years after his "parinirvāṇa." The most well known case under this head is that of Kaniṣka who though a Chinese by birth was in no way inferior to Asoka in his zeal for the religion.

Another noteworthy event of the reign of these foreign dynasties was the development of India's trade with the West not that there was no trade with these countries before but it was carried on chiefly through Egypt and Babylon and there was no direct intercourse with the western countries. The establishment of the Bactrio-Greek supremacy in India and the expansion of the Yuehchi empire under Kadphises II whose boundary almost ran with that of Hadrian opened up a new route so that it came into direct contact with the West. As a result, India's trade increased and the West profoundly influenced Indian art and architecture.

The influence is very distinctly visible in the coinage of the time. Formerly, the Indian coin was of a very simple type and consisted of oblong pieces of metal containing various devices struck by a punch. Opinions differ considerably regarding their date, General Cunningham being inclined to place the most ancient of these as early as 1000 B. C. Mr. Vincent Smith is however of opinion that their date may be fixed to be the seventh century B. C. on the ground that it was then that India's foreign maritime trade began, necessitating the issue of a coinage. The metal used was either silver or copper and it has been ascertained by means

of archæological finds that the silver coins were wonderfully uniform in weight and general style, from the Himālayas to Cape Comorin.

Besides these, some coins have been found, which consist of solid ingots merely marked with dots. Devices on other coins are however more diverse and may be classified under seven heads viz (1) the human figure; (2) implements, arms and the work of man (3) animals such as rhinoceros elephant, bulls etc. (4) trees (5) symbols connected with solar or planetary worship (6) symbols relating to the worship of Śiva and (7) miscellaneous.

The effect of the introduction of the Bactrio Greek coinage in India was that from thenceforth, round coins began to be struck though the old form did not disappear altogether and is occasionally found. Moreover, in conformity with the practice on the Greek coins, the coins were generally impressed with a likeness of the ruler and a legend giving his name and title. The workmanship of the Indian coins is however much inferior for while the figures on the Bactrian coins are lifelike, those on the Indian coins are crude and can hardly be regarded as even roughly approaching the original. The coins of the Western Kṣatrapas and of Samudragupta are somewhat better but even they are much inferior to the Bactrian coins in workmanship. The influence in the sphere of coinage became very marked in the time of the Kuṣāna rulers for Kadphises I, who at first struck coins in bronze or copper only, imitated after his conquest of Kābul the coinage either of Augustus in his later years, or the similar coinage of Tiberius. Again, when the Roman gold of the early emperors began to

our into India in payment for the silks, spices gems, and dye stuffs of the East, Kadphises II perceived the advantage of a gold currency and struck an abundant issue of orientalized aurei agreeing with their prototype and not much inferior in purity.

The influence which Persia and the West exercised upon Indian architecture was more remarkable still and has left more permanent traces than any other. It is now generally conceded that the earliest architecture of India was of wood, as in China, Burma and Japan, and we have a distinct reference to it in the writings of Megasthenes who observes that Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Chandragupta was surrounded by a wooden wall, pierced with loop holes, for the discharge of arrows. If the walls of the capital were so built and that too when they were meant to act as protective works, it is highly improbable that any other material was used by the people in the construction of their buildings. It was first replaced by bricks as in the case of the Piprahwā stūpa described before and then by stone. Stone was in the beginning used for the purpose of railing only but once it came into use, the ancient plain fence was quickly transformed into an elaborate screen of considerable height giving ample scope for a picture gallery. Thus, the railing of the Stūpa at Bharhut, a hundred miles south west of Allāhābād, erected between 200 and 150 B. C. stood seven feet high and every part of it, post, rails and coping is covered with elaborate pictures in bas relief, of invaluable interest as giving a vivid representation of the Indian life of the period. The Sānchi gateways leading to the Sānchi Stūpa, which are some time later, are of equal interest and consist of two massive pillars

and three successive beams, covered over with sculpture in relief, illustrating the stories in the Jātakas and all sorts of stories connected with the Buddhist legends. The way in which stone came to be used is well described by Mr. Burgess in his article on Indian architecture, in the Imperial Gazetteer.

“The spread of Buddhism” he observes “to the westward and at latest, the invasion of India by Alexander the Great brought India into contact with Persia, where in the fifth and sixth centuries B. C. Cyrus and the succeeding Achaemenian kings had hewn out mausoleums in the rocks and constructed palaces with stone-basements, pillars and doorways, filling in the walls with brick, as in the earlier Assyrian buildings. These works would naturally attract the attention of Indian visitors, whether missionaries, ambassadors or merchants and the report of such magnificent structures would tempt Indian princes to copy them. The embassies of Megasthenes to Chandragupta and of Deimachus to his son were probably not the only visits of the kind, during the interval between the time of Alexander and the accession of As’oka and such visitors from the west were specially suited to convey a knowledge of Persian arts to the contemporary Indian potentates. The daughter of Seleucus Nikator too, who was given in marriage to Chandragupta may have helped in this.”

“By the middle of the third century B. C., we find the great As’oka in communication with the contemporary kings of Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus and Cyrene, and to his reign belong the great stone pillars, with capitals of Persian type that are engraved with his religious edicts. A staunch supporter of Buddhism, As’oka is credited with the construction all over the

country of vast numbers of stūpas or monumental structures, enshrining relics of Sākya Muni Buddha or other Buddhist saints and with them were created monasteries and chapels for the monks. We cannot positively identify any of the few still existing stūpas as having been actually built by him but there can scarcely be a doubt that the sculptured walls at Buddha Gayā and Bharhut, the caves at Barābar and the oldest of the cave monasteries in Western India were excavated during the existence of the Maurya dynasty or at least within the two centuries following Asoka's accession."

It will thus be seen that there are a number of structures which testify to the influence of the Persian architecture on that of India. Instances of the influence which the Greek art exercised thereon are not so abundant but a column was found at Shahderi in the Punjāb, of the Ionic type having a base of the pure Attic type and a capital with volutes and from this, it may be inferred that the Indian architects were not slow to adopt all that was worthy of imitation in the western art. A number of structures have also been found in the ancient province of Gandhāra which show distinct traces of what is called the Greeco-Roman art. Some of the most notable amongst these are those relating to the representation of Buddha and the Buddhist pantheon and this has given rise to the theory that the idea of making images of gods was probably due to foreign influence. The question is however not definitely settled and there is some reliable evidence showing that the art was known at a date considerably earlier *

* See the Introduction to the Elements of Hindu Iconography by Gopinath Rao Vol. I.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ĀNDHRA DYNASTY

A. D. 50 to A. D. 322½



The history of India north of the Vindhya mountain having been considered in various aspects *e. g.* political, religious and social, we will now turn our attention to the history of Southern India. The earliest epigraphical reference to the dynasties ruling there occurs in the second edict of As'oka. There, after mentioning the territory which acknowledged his sovereignty, he speaks of the country of the Choḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Keraḷaputras, and the Satiyaputras and Tāmraparṇi or Ceylon as outlying provinces. The fifth edict further mentions the fact that religious ministers were appointed by him for the Rāṣṭrikas, Pitenikas and Aparantas and again, there is a reference to them in the thirteenth edict which refers to the Choḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Pitenikas the Āndhras and the Pulindas, as living in the territory outside his dominion.

Such of our readers as have perused the first volume will recollect that many of these names are not new but have been mentioned before. Thus, we have in Chapter V of Book II referred to the fact that according to the Vāyu, the Matsya and the Brahma Purāṇas, the kingdoms of the Choḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, and the Keraḷaputras derived their names from the three sons of these names of Āndīra, the 7th in descent from Turvasu,

the son of Yayāti, * and that according to the Mahābhārata, † they were subjugated by the Pāṇḍavas at the time of the As'vamedha sacrifice. We also noted the important fact that according to the Sabhā Parva, ‡ the country of the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas was famous for its precious stones and for the manufacture of cloth of a specially fine texture.

As early as the Rāmāyaṇa, the gates of the Pāṇḍya city are said to have been richly embellished with gold, pearls and precious jewels. The Pāṇḍyas and the Cholas are also mentioned in the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana who tells us that one sprung from the individual of the tribe of the Pāṇḍus or the king of their country should be called a Pāṇḍya and that one sprung from an individual of the Chola tribe or the king of their country should be called a Chola. According to Megasthenes, the Pāṇḍyas were the only race in India ruled by women and the Cholas are mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythræan sea and by Ptolemy.

The Bhojas too are referred to in the Purāṇas and said to be the descendants of Tālajaṅghas, the grandson of Arjuna Kārtavīrya. There is reason to believe that they were established in the neighbourhood of Dhār but opinion is not unanimous on the subject. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, for instance, is of opinion that they were staying in the Vidarbha country corresponding to the modern Berar.

About the Rāṣṭrikas, Pitenikas and the Aparāntas, there is no reference in the Purāṇas but it has been ascertained from other reliable evidence that Aparānta is now represented by Northern Konkan and had its

* Page III, Vol. I † Page 218 Vol I. ‡ Page 261. Ibid.

capital at Surpāraka. The Pitenikas are the inhabitants of Pratiṣṭhana, the modern Paithana * and the Rāṣṭikas—corresponding to the Sanskrit Rāṣṭrikas—are generally believed to be the people of the Mahārāṣṭra, the prefix Mahā or great being applied to various tribes as an honorific title.

This is all the information we possess regarding the dynasties which ruled in the South before the rise of the Āndhra dynasty. Of this, we have fuller details as the names of the rulers belonging to it are given in the Purāṇas and some of the Nāsik inscriptions give valuable information on the subject.

The Vāyn Purāṇa gives the following list and the years for which they ruled are also specified.

1. Sindhuka	23;	7. Hāla	1;	13. Gautamiputra.	21.
2. Kṛṣṇa	10;	8. Saptaka or		14. Yajna Śrī Śāta-	
		Maṇḍaiaka.	5;	karṇi.	29.
3. Śātakarṇi	56;	9. Purikaśheṇa	20;	15. Vijaya	6.
4. Apilava	12;	10. Śātakarṇi	1;	16. Chandra Śrī Śāta-	
				karṇi.	3.
5. Pulumāyi	24;	11. Chakora Śāta-		17. Pulumāyi.	7
		karṇi	$\frac{1}{2}$;		
6. Nemkrsna	25;	12. Śivasvāti	28,		

Total. 272½

The names of the rulers of this dynasty are given also in the Viṣṇu, the Bhāgavata, and the Matsya Purāṇas. According to the first of these, there were twenty-four rulers while the Bhāgavata says there were twenty-two. The Matsya increases the number to thirty and the total length of the dynasty to 448 years and a half. The question as to how these discrepancies

* Dr Buhler and Vincent Smith doubt the correctness of this identification. Vide Mr. Smiths Aśoka p. 175.

arose have been discussed at length by Dr. Bhāndārkar in his History of the Deccan* and his conclusion is that the great difference between the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas is due to the fact that there were two branches ruling simultaneously at Paiṭhan and at Dhanakataka and that while the Vāyu refers only to the main branch, the Matsya refers to both and the total given by it includes the reigns of both.

Owing to these reasons, the year in which the Āndhras came to power is not definitely known. It will, however, be remembered that the Śunga dynasty which came to power on the decline of the Mauryas ruled according to the Vāyu for 142 years and the Kāṇwāyanas for 85 and consequently, the Āndhras must have come to power in about A. D. 50. As their reign lasted for $272\frac{1}{2}$, the dynasty came to an end in the year $322\frac{1}{2}$, and this would tally with the account given in the Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta where it is said that Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty came to power by displacing Pulumāyi, the last of the Āndhras and founded an era of his own viz. the Gupta era dating from the 26th February 320 A. D.

Simhaka (also called Sindhuka, and Śis'uka) the founder of the dynasty, was originally the commander-in-chief of the Kāṇwas and as so often happens, he utilized the power which he wielded to displace his royal master and to seize the throne for himself. His brother Kṛṣṇa who came after him enlarged the kingdom and extended his limits as far as Nāsik. The king Hāla was a learned man and is said to have paid special attention to the development of the Prākṛt literature.

Turning to the inscriptions, the earliest are those in the cave at Nānāghaṭ, the front wall of which contains several figures with the names of Simhaka Śātavāhana, -evidently the same as Śiś'uka, the founder of the dynasty according to the Matsya Purāṇa, -queen Nāyanikā, Śrī Śātakarṇi, Prince Bhāya Prince Haku Siri and Prince Śātavāhana. Again, an inscription found in one of the Nāsik caves says that it was constructed by a lieutenant of king Kṛṣṇa, evidently the ruler of that name given in the list above. A horde of coins found at Kolhapur of copper and lead, has further disclosed the names of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāyi. Gotamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi, Maḍharīputra and Viḷivāyakura, the last of whom is evidently the same as Baleocuros mentioned by Ptolemy, as ruling in the south. Lastly, another inscription in the cave at Nānāghaṭ records the dedication of a cistern of water in the 13th year of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Chatarapana Śātakarṇi. *

The more important of the inscriptions relating to the dynasty however are those relating to Gautamīputra and Puṣumāyi† found in the caves at Nāsik as also those relating to Nahapāna and Uṣavadāta. These inscriptions which are quoted at length in the previous chapter show that Nahapāna was the master, not only of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād but of a considerable tract of territory to the south of Gujarāt proper, as is conclusively proved by the fact that a large horde of coins consisting of as many as 13000 coins was found near Nāsik. The dynasty was however unable to retain its hold long because Nahapāna died without a direct heir and

* B. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XV p. 313.

† Epi Ind. Vol. VIII p. 159; Vol. XIV 153.

in the reign of Gautamīputra, the Āndhras recovered all the territory they had lost and even pushed further north so that they established their sway over Asīka Mūḷaka, Surāṣṭra Kukura. Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha, and Akarāvanti. Some of these places have not been definitely identified but from such as have been, it is clear that the territory which he thus reduced to subjection extended from the eastern portion of modern Rājputāna (Akarāvanti) in the north, to the northern Konkan (Kukura) in the south. In the west, Kāthiāwād (Surāṣṭra) acknowledged his sway and in the east his territory extended as far as Vidarbha or modern Berar, together with the Anupa country, situated in the neighbourhood of the Vindhya according to the Purāṇas.

The foreign tribes whom Gautamīputra vanquished are specifically mentioned in the inscription to be the Śakas the Yavanas, and the Pahlavas. Of these, the Śakas evidently comprised the successors of Nahapāna and his followers and the victory over them was of such a decisive character that as the inscription says, no trace was left of the Kṣaharāta tribe to which Nahapāna belonged. The Yavanas were presumably the descendants of those who had come and settled in Kāthiāwād, in the time of the Bactrian kings and who continued to flourish in various parts of the country, even after the Bactrian Greek rule disappeared. It is difficult to identify the Pahlavas. The fact that Parthian kings ruled in the north of India, coupled with the fact that Pahlava is a Prakṛt form of Pārthava meaning the Parthians would lead to the inference that the Pahlavas were in some way connected with the Parthian rulers of the north. To judge from the inscription of Rudradāman they were great

adepts in engineering and as this led to a requisition of their services by kings, it is not difficult to imagine that they like so many other races who came and settled in India must have utilised the opportunity to found kingdoms for themselves, taking advantage of the weakness of rulers and internal dissensions.

Besides referring to the victories achieved by the king, the inscription gives in the usual eulogistic style, a description of the king's character and personal appearance. "His face" it says "was beautiful and pure like the lotus opened by the rays of the sun; his appearance was lovely and radiant like the orb of the moon; and his gait was beautiful like the gait of a choice elephant", "He was" the inscription goes on to say, "the abode of traditional lore, the refuge of the virtuous, the asylum of fortune and the fountain of good manners. He conquered multitudes of enemies in many battles, his victorious banner was unvanquished and his capital was unassailable to his foes."*

The king died after a reign of twenty one years according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Of the events that happened in the reign of his successors, no record is available till we come to the reign of Chandra Śrī in whose reign the downfall of the dynasty began. This king married a Lichchhavi princess who became enamoured of Chandragupta, the husband of her sister and with her connivance, Chandragupta got rid of the king. For seven years, he managed the kingdom for the king's son Pulomāyi but then he took therein of Government in his own hands and declared himself an independent ruler.

* Epi Ind Vol. VIII p. 61.

GENEALOGY OF THE ĀNDHRA DYNASTY.

	Date of accession.
1 Sīmḥaka *	A. D. 50
2 Kṛṣṇa	„ 73
3 Śātakarṇi	„ 83
4 Āpilava †	„ 139
5 Puḷumāyi	„ 151
6 Nemikṛṣṇa	„ 175
7 Hālā	„ 200
8 Saptaka	„ 201
9 Purikashena ‡	„ 206
10 Śātakarṇi	„ 227
11 Chakora Śātakarṇi	„ 228
12 Śivasvāti	„ 228½
13 Gautamīputra	„ 256½
14 Yajña Śrī	„ 277½
15 Vijaya	„ 306½
16 Chandra Śrī	„ 312½
17 Puḷumāyi	„ 315½ to 322½

* He is also called Sindhuka Śimuka and Śisuka.

† The name is spelt Apitaka and Apilaka.

‡ Also called Pureṇdrasena or Pulindashena.

CHAPTER XIV

MARITIME ACTIVITY IN THE TIME OF THE ĀNDHRAS



The Āndhra dynasty occupies in the history of Southern India the same conspicuous place as the dynasty of the Mauryas occupies in the north. Just as the latter form the starting point of our definite knowledge of the history of Northern India, the Āndhras form the starting point of our knowledge of the south. Again, as the earliest inscriptions of the north relate to the Mauryas, those of the south relate to the Āndhras.

A very conspicuous feature of the Āndhras is the extensive trade carried on during their reign by the sea. According to the author of the Periplus, Broach was the principal port on this side and from it, goods were carried on to Paithan situated at twenty days' journey from the place, and to Tagara, situated at 10 days' journey to the east from the last mentioned place, and identified by Dr. Bhandarkar with Dharur in the Nizam's territory, * and with Ter by Dr. Fleet. Two other places of note mentioned by him are Souppara, the modern Supārā near Bassein and Kallien or the modern Kalyān, information which receives considerable corroboration from the fact that merchants residing in these places are mentioned in the inscriptions at Junnar † and Kanheri as having made important donations for religious and charitable purposes. Dhanakaṭaka the

* P. 174 History of the Deccan.

† A. S. W. I. p. 94 Nos 11 and 18.

capital of the Āndhras also appears to have been a very important city as a number of inscriptions at Karle mention donations from persons resident in the place. A very remarkable feature about them is that the donations are often the gifts of the Yavanas residing there and it may safely be inferred therefrom that it was inhabited by foreigners also.* It was according to Hiuen Tsang 40 li round and the country of which it was the capital was 6000 li, in circuit. "The soil" he adds "is rich and fertile, regularly cultivated and affording abundant harvests. There is much desert country and the towns are thinly populated. The complexion of the people is yellowish black and they are fierce by nature and impulsive. They greatly esteem learning.†

As regards the trade with foreign countries, there is clear evidence that there was trade overland and by sea, with Western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt as well as with China and the East.‡ Embassies are said to have been sent from South India to Rome, and Indian elephants were used for Syrian warfare.

Pliny mentions the vast quantities of spices that found its way every year from Rome to India and in this, he is confirmed by the author of the Periplus.

The trade judging from the number of Roman coins that have been found in Southern India was the most brisk during the period of eighty years from Augustus to Nero. (A. D. 68) but from thence upto A. D. 217, there was a sharp decline as may be inferred from the

* A. S. W. 1. p. 90 Inscriptions 7 and 10.

† Bud, Rec. of the W. World p. 221 Vol. II.

‡ J. R. A. S. 1901 p. 537.

fact that only a few coins belonging to the period have been discovered. That the bulk of this trade owed its existence to the Āndhras is conclusively proved by the fact that of all the reigning dynasties of the time, the coins of the Āndhras alone bear the emblem of a ship. They belong to the second and third century A. D. and are believed to have been struck by Yājña Śrī.

An interesting question regarding the dynasty is whether the large number of caves with elaborate carving, which are found in Western India owe their existence to them. The question has not yet received the consideration it deserves, nor has any attempt been made to ascertain how this form of architecture came to be introduced in India.

Fergusson in his *History of Architecture** evidently takes the view that stone architecture was a development of the wooden one which existed before but he has not failed to notice the fact that the capitals of certain pillars e. g. of those of the cave of Bedsā are distinctly Persepolitan in character. Did the Indian architect copy these from a Persian model? The question has now aroused a special interest owing to the opinion held by Dr. Spooner regarding the part which Persia has played in the development of Indian civilisation. It is indeed difficult to agree with him when he says that the palace of Chandragupta was built of stone when Megasthenes distinctly tells us that wood was used in places where stone was indispensable e. g. in the construction of the defensive walls of the capital, and we may hesitate to accept without more

* Page 134-5 of Vol. I. Dr. Burgess have taken the same view in *Imperial Gazetteer* Vol. II p. 156.

reliable proof that the great emperor himself was a Persian by descent, but it is quite likely that the sudden introduction of stone architecture in place of wood in the time of As'oka was due to Persian influence. The style of his edicts which resembles so much that of Darius and the fact of their being carved on huge blocks of stone like their Persian prototype, leave no doubt that Persia did, from the time of As'oka, exercise a great influence on Indian architecture of the north but it is difficult to say if Southern India was affected in the same way. The magnificent halls of the Vihāras and their richly ornamented massive pillars have no resemblance to any architecture in any other part of the world and may have been indigenous in the south. There is in fact ample room for a fuller discussion of the subject and we must hesitate to express a final opinion in the matter till the question is discussed in all its bearings and settled.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GUPTA DYNASTY.

319 A. D. to 540 A. D.



A new dynasty now claims our attention, the dynasty of the Guptas. Its rise forms an important epoch in the History of India, for, we find for the first time, after a lapse of some six centuries, an Indian ruler, reducing one by one, the various races which had poured into India, after the decline of the Mauryas. So wide was the area over which the invaders were distributed and so firmly were the foundations laid of their kingdom that the task of rooting out their power was by no means easy and must have appeared hopeless, to many a thinking mind of the time. The Guptas however, undertook to do so and eminently succeeded, in sweeping away the last vestige of their rule and bringing the whole of India under one paramount ruler.

The founder of this dynasty was Gupta who is referred to both in the inscriptions and in the Kaliyuga Vṛttānta as Śrīgupta and he had a son Ghaṭotkacha. They were originally settled at Śrī Parvata near Nepāl, a fact which earned for them the designation Śrīpārva-tiyas. In the reign of Śrīśātakarṇi, Śrīgupta and his sons were employed as generals and they won for their king, a number of victories which greatly added to the reputation which they already enjoyed. The marriage of Chandragupta the grandson of Śrīgupta with Kumā-

radevī, the daughter of the king of Nepāl and also with a Lichchhavi princess added still more to the influence of the dynasty. The last mentioned marriage especially gave him a footing in the royal household of the Āndhras whose king Chandra Śrī was married to a lady who was a sister of the Lichchhavi consort of Chandragupta. Chandragupta, it is said, was in criminal intimacy with the latter queen and in conspiracy with her, murdered his royal master and for a time managed the kingdom on behalf of his son Puṣumāyi but he soon threw off the mask and wrested from the Āndhras the kingdom of Magadha and declaring himself king, struck coins bearing his own figure as well as that of his Lichchhavi queen.

No definite details regarding the extent of the territory over which he ruled are available but generally speaking, it comprised the country round about Magadha and the country in the vicinity of Prayāga or Allāhabād. His capital was at Pāṭalīputra. That his reign was a prosperous one may be inferred from the fact, that he was one of the few Indian rulers to issue a gold coinage. He also founded the Gupta era which dates from the 26th. February 320 A. D. There was at first, a considerable controversy as to what was the event which this date referred to, the date according to some, representing the accession of Srīgupta, the founder of the dynasty and according to others the accession of Chandragupta [I];* but the question is set at rest, by the *Kaliyuga Rājartānta*, which definitely states that the era was founded by him. This account also states that he reigned for seven years and he must therefore have ruled from 320 A. D. to 327 A. D.

* History of Gujarāt p. 60.

The king was succeeded by Kacha, his son by his favourite Lichchhavi princess and coins bearing his name have been discovered but his reign was a very short one as Samudragupta, the son of the king by Kumāradevī marched against him and having killed him ascended the throne.

The chief source of information regarding him is an inscription relating to him on a pillar at Allāhābād which gives a full account of the countries he subjugated. Before we give an account thereof, it is however necessary to give a resume of the kingdoms established in the different parts of India at the time. The most conspicuous of these was the kingdom which Kaniska had established in the north-west of India and which, at this time, was in the hands of his successors. In Mālhwā, the Mālavas whom Uṣavadatta had defeated had regained their power and so too had the Yaudheyas who had been vanquished by Rudradāman. The forest region of the Narmadā was in the hands of a ruler belonging to the aboriginal race and the Śakas were all powerful in Gujarat and Kāthiāwād. In the south, there were a number of kingdoms, of which, the chief was the kingdom of the Pallavas with their capital at Kāñchi or Conjeevaram. The Keraḷas of Purāṇic fame had also a kingdom of their own and there was on the east coast the kingdom of Piṣṭapura.

The king's victories began with the conquest of the territory in his neighbour hood. There nine kings were vanquished viz. Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta Chandra-varman, Gaṇapati Nāga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nandin and Balavarman. The names of many of these have not been found in any other place but Gaṇapati Nāga is pro-

bably the same as the Nāga King of that name whose coins were found by General Cunningham at Mathurā. Samudragupta next turned his attention to the rulers on the other side of the large territory which he had thus acquired and made them pay tribute to him and acknowledge his supremacy. Distinct mention is made of Nepāl, Kāmarūpa or Āssām and Samatāta comprising the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputrā. Two other kingdoms are mentioned viz. Davāka and Karṭṭura but it is impossible to identify these places.

The eastern part of India having been thus subjugated, he turned his attention to the west. A distinction is here made between the kings who gave him tribute, obeyed his orders or came to pay homage and those who submitted, gave their daughters in marriage and paid tribute or requested not to be molested in the enjoyment of their kingdom. In the former category, we find the Mālavas, the Yaudheyas, the Mādrakas and the Ābhīras. Of these, we have already referred to the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas. The Mādrakas were a tribe living to the north-west of Punjāb and are referred to later on, in the pillar inscription of King Maṅgales'a found at Mahākuta near Bādāmi, as having been subjugated by Kirtivarman I of the dynasty of the Chalukyas. The Ābhīras are believed to be a tribe who came and settled in India from the north-west but their history is still shrouded in obscurity. Other tribes which are mentioned but have not been identified are the Arjunāyanas Prārjuna, Sanakānika and Kharaparika.

In the latter category, we find the Śaka, Devaputra, Shāhi and Shāhānushāhi, of whom the Śakas are possibly meant to refer to the king belonging to the dynasty of the

Western Kṣatrapas ruling at the time. Devaputra is an epithet applied to the Kuṣana kings in the inscriptions relating to them e. g. at Setū Māhet and Mathurā while the epithets Shāhi and Shāhānushāhi are frequently applied to them in their coins as well as in their inscriptions. * The titles Devaputra, Shāhi and Shāhānushāhi thus undoubtedly refer to the successors of Kaniṣka, though their names are unknown. Other rulers mentioned in the same category are the Muruṇḍa Saimhalaka and the island kings, of which the Muruṇḍas were a tribe living in the north-west of Jalālābād. The Saimhalaka is the ruler of Simhala or Ceylon though as Dr. Jackson points out in the History of Gujarat † it may refer to many Simhapuras known to Indian geography e. g. Sihor in Kāthiāwād. The island kings would then be the chiefs of Kachehha and Kāthiāwād.

All the kings of the north having been thus vanquished or having acknowledged his supremacy, Samudragupta turned his attention to the country south of the Vindhya range and subdued Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahakāntāra, Mundarāja of Kaurāttā, Swāmidatta of Piṣṭapura, Mahendragiri and Auttura, Damana of Airaṇḍapallaka, Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchi, Nilaraja, Śāpāvamukta, Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Pālaka, Kubera of Devarāṣṭra and Dhananjaya of Kusthalapura. As authentic records of many dynasties ruling in the south begin considerably later, it has not been found possible to trace the names of any of the kings mentioned above except Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchi who was possibly a member of the Pallava.

* Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum by V. A. Smith
p. 69 & 72.

† Page. 65.

dynasty which was then rising to fame. It may however be mentioned that a South Indian inscription refers to one Viṣṇugopa as reigning in A. D. 351 and it is likely that he is the king referred to in the inscription.

Of the places mentioned, Mahākāntāra which means the great forest evidently refers to the hilly and wooded country south of the Narmadā. Piṣṭapura is the modern Pittapuram, twelve miles north-east of Coconada in the Godāvarī District and Kosala is the country lying round Raypur and Sambalpur in the Central provinces. Kerala is the country now known as Malabār and Vengi was a country on the east coast, of which the original boundaries appear to have been towards the west, the eastern Ghats and on the north and south, the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā.

(The fame of Samudragupta's achievements reached the neighbouring kingdoms and the kings of Gandhāra and Kābul were glad to cultivate diplomatic relations and to be on friendly terms with him. The labours of M. Sylvain Levi have further disclosed the fact that Meghavarman the Buddhist king of Ceylon who reigned from 304 to 332 A. D. sent, in his reign, two monks of whom one bore the name Mahānāman to visit the monastery built by As'oka, to the east of the sacred tree of Budha Gayā. They felt uncomfortable, on account of the want of any suitable accomodation and having brought this to the notice of their sovereign, he resolved to build a monastery for the use of his subjects, going out on a pilgrimage to the holy places in India. An embassy was thereupon sent by him laden with gems and other valuable gifts, requesting permission from the king to build a monastery for the use of the monks and a

splendid building three storeys high with three towers and a strong wall was erected with decorations in the richest colours and a statue of Buddha, cast in gold and silver and studded with jewels was duly enshrined therein.*

The building was still standing when Hiuen Tsang visited the place and was occupied by a thousand monks of the Sthavira school of the Mahāyāna sect but its site is marked now only by a mound. The work of conquest being completed, the victorious monarch decided to celebrate the As'vamedha sacrifice in conformity with old traditions and a number of coins celebrating the remarkable event, have been found which bear, on the obverse, the figure of the sacrificial horse standing before an altar, surmounted by the sacrificial pole and on the reverse, a female carrying a fly whisk or chowri. Other coins bear on them the inscription, Apratiratha or peerless and Sarvarājochchheta or destroyer of all kings. Coins with a similar legend have also been found bearing the names of a king called Kacha and though the question has not been definitely settled, Dr. V. Smith and Dr. Jackson are inclined to believe that it was another name of Samudragupta.

A very useful and important work which Samudragupta accomplished, was the revision of and bringing upto date the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas. He was the last Indian ruler to do so and that explains why there is no reference in the Purāṇas to the Gupta dynasty, the account stopping short with the dynasty that preceded it and leaving the work of writing the history of its own times to future generations. Unfortunately, the expectation was not fulfilled for a long time afterwards, the only work which gives a detailed account of its reign

* For details see Indian Antiquary 1902 p. 192.

being the Kaliyuga-Rāja-Vṛttānta which carries the history right upto the Mahomedan conquest.

The great emperor was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II, probably in the year A. D. 378 as his earliest inscription is dated in the Gupta year 80 or 399 A. D. and he is therein referred to as having far advanced in his career of conquest. The title Vikramāditya which occurs on his coins shows that he was a victorious ruler and the little information which we have been able to gather from his inscriptions shows that he was quite justified in assuming that proud title.

The first country to which he turned his attention was Mālwa. He advanced there by way of Bhilsā, to judge from the fact that an inscription has been found in the Udayagiri caves situated in its vicinity, which records the making of a cave of Mahādeva, by one Śāba of the Kautsa gotra, having the family name of Vīrasena. He was a poet and a native of Pāṭaliputra, who held the hereditary office of the minister of peace and war and he went there, it is stated, with the king intent upon conquering the whole earth.

Another inscription in a cave near by, is dated in the eleventh day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvatsara 82 of the Gupta era corresponding to A. D. 401. The inscription relates to a feudatory of Chandragupta, the son of Viṣṇudāsa and the grandson of Chhagalaga. A third inscription on the railing of the great stūpa at Sānchi is dated the 4th day of Bhādrapada Saṃvat 93 (A. D. 42) and records the gift of 25 dināras and a place called Is'varavāsaka to the monastery of Kākanādaḥaṣṭarī, for the daily maintenance of five Bhikṣus and the burning of a lamp in the shrine of the Buddhist triratna, for the merit of the great emperor Chandra-

gupta. The donor of this cave too is described to be a feudatory of Chandragupta bearing the name Āmrakār-dava, who had won flags of glory on various battlefields and "had the object of his life gratified by the favour of the feet of the supreme ruler of great kings, the illustrious Chandragupta."

It was at one time supposed that the region comprising the seven mouths of the Indus formed part of the empire of Chandragupta II, the chief authority for it being the Meharauli inscription which mentions a king named Chandra as having conquered the Vāhlikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus and the Vangas. The Mandasor inscription of Naravarman † however has disclosed the fact that the Chandra referred to there is not identical with Chandragupta II but with a ruler named Chandravarman, the brother of Naravaman and the son of Simhavarman. These rulers were established in Mālwā and had their capital at Puṣkarana corresponding to the modern Pokharana in the Jodhpur State. The country cannot thus have been directly under Chandragupta II, though it is possible that the conquest of Mālwā brought it practically under his suzerainty.

The conquest of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād must in the natural course have been made, after the southern portion of Mālwā and the country to its east was conquered. It was, as mentioned before, under the rule of the Kṣatrapas but their power had, by this time, much declined. According to tradition, Rudrasena the son of Satyasena, who was ruling at the time, was a voluptuous prince, who preferred the pleasures of the

† Epi. Ind. XII. 318.

palace to the cares of kingship.* He was easily defeated but his sister's son—the Kṣatrapa Siṃhasena tried to avert the fall of the dynasty and succeeded for a time, for coins bearing his name were found by Dr. Bhagavānlāl Indrajī. The Gupta Emperor was however too powerful for him and as coins of a Kṣatrapa later than Siṃhasena have not been found and the Gupta coinage of the time of Chandragupta II is a modification of the Kṣatrapa type, it may safely be concluded that Gujarat passed during his reign from the Kṣatrapas into the hands of the Guptas. From the date of the inscription mentioned above and the dates on the coins of Rudrasena, which vary from 300 to 310 of the Śaka era and from the fact that at least one ruler is known to have succeeded him, it may be inferred that the conquest of Gujarāt was accomplished in the year 402 or thereabout.

Chandragupta II was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta about the G. E. 95 or A. D. 414, for the latest inscription of the former falls in G. E. 93 and the earliest record of the latter in G. E. 96. Before he ascended the throne, he had acted as a governor in Kāthiāwād, which accounts for the fact that some coins bearing his name and the date 90 (409 A. D.) have been found in that province. The coins struck by him after he ascended the throne bear the legend,

Paramabhāgavata Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya i. e.

The great worshipper of Bhagvata, the supreme ruler of great kings, the illustrious Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya. "

Others bear the legend :—

* A coin of this king was found along with a coin of Chandragupta II by Gen. Cunningham at Sultanganj on the Ganges.

Vijitāvaniravanipati Kumāragupto devam jayati
i. e. Kumāragupta, lord of the earth who had
conquered the kings of the earth conquers the Deva.

As observed by the learned editor of the History of Gujarāt, it is somewhat difficult to understand the meaning of the latter legend. He himself suggests that Deva is evidently used as an antithesis between gods and the lords of the earth. On the other hand, it may refer to some victor, over the Devaputras, the title which was regularly adopted by the Yuehchi kings. *

Besides the coins, inscriptions relating to him have also been found but they do not give any useful information. From the evidence of coins and inscriptions relating to him, Kumāragupta may be assumed to have reigned from A. D. 414 to A. D. 456. In that year, he was succeeded by his son Skandagupta.

The chief feature of his reign was the struggle he had to wage with powerful foes to maintain in tact his parental dominion, during the early part of his reign. The Bhitari Pillar Inscription thus refers to his attempt to fix fast again the shaken fortunes of his house and to his having spent three months on the earth as on a bed. A king named Pusyamitra was one of his opponents but the more formidable of his enemies were the Huns, who after establishing themselves in the basin of the Oxus in about A. D. 450 began to make regular incursions on the Indian frontier. The Emperor succeeded in vanquishing both, for, some of the coins of his predecessor are dated in the year 136 and the Girnār inscription speaks of his being firmly established

* Vide Chapter X ante.

in the same year, thus showing that a few months sufficed for the purpose of reestablishing his power. The Bhitari inscription also mentions that he hastened to communicate the news of his victory to his weeping mother, a significant remark which clearly proves that the trouble began in the reign of his father and that he was either slain or died on the battlefield.

The coins struck by him were like those of his predecessors of gold and silver. The gold coins are found only in the eastern portion of his dominion which unmistakably points to the inference that the hold of the Guptas over the western part of his territory was slackening. The silver coins found in the east have, on the obverse, the bust of the king and on the reverse, the peacock generally found on the Gupta coins and the legend :-

“Vijitāvanirvanipatijayati devam Skandagupto yaṁ, that is, Skandagupta the lord of the earth who having conquered the earth conquers the Deva. The western coins present three varieties of which one is similar to the eastern type, the other has a bull, instead of the peacock, and the third, has an altar with one upright and two side jets of water. The third variety found only in Kutch contains the legend-Paramabhāgavata Mahārājā-dhirāja Skandagupta (Vi) kramāditya.

The great worshipper of Bhagavata the supreme ruler of great kings, Skandagupta, the son of prowess.

During his reign, the Sudars'ana lake first erected in the time of the Emperor As'oka and rebuilt by the great Kṣatrapa Rudradāman was breached again and the waters of the streams Palās'ini, Sikatā. and Vilāsini

burst through the dam and overflowed the neighbouring country. A new dam 100 cubits long, 68 cubits broad and about 38 feet high was erected and the work begun in Grīṣma-137 G. E. (A. D. 456) was finished in two months.

As the king had no son, he adopted Narasimhagupta, the son of his halfbrother Sthiragupta, the son of Kumāragupta by his queen Ānandadevī. Before Skandagupta's death, the disintegration of the Gupta empire had already begun; and we thus find two branches, of which one ruled in the Western districts of the Gupta Empire and the other at the original seat of Government. Of the former branch, the most prominent ruler was Budhagupta relating to whom two inscriptions have been found. Of these, one is inscribed on the Buddhistic image at Sārnāth and states that Budhagupta was ruling the earth when the year 157 of the Gupta era had expired. The other found at Eraṇ in the Saugor District is dated Āṣaḍha Śud 12 G. E. 165. A number of coins issued by him have also been discovered which contain the legend :-

देवं जयति विजितावनिरवनिपति श्री बुधगुप्तो.

“The king the illustrious Budhagupta who has conquered the earth conquers the Deva.”

Of the main branch, Narasimhagupta being a minor at the time of Kumāragupta's death, Puragupta ruled the kingdom from the years A. D. 480-485. During this short period, he reformed the currency and the few gold coins containing on the reverse the name Prakāś'ā-ditya, which presumably was the title, he assumed during his regime, have been ascertained to be superior in intrinsic value to the best Kuṣana or Gupta coins.

Narasimhagupta took up the reins of government in his hands in the year 486 A. D. and ruled for a pretty long period of 35 years. The chief feature of his reign was his patronage of Buddhism, and the building of a brick temple 300 feet high which was remarkable for its costly decoration in gold and precious stones.

He was succeeded by **Kumāragupta II** who was the last important ruler of the dynasty, its reign having lasted according to the author of the Jain *Harivamsa* for a total period of 231 years.

The dynasty however continued to hold small territory for a considerable time afterwards and the names of a number of kings of more or less importance have been discovered. The more prominent amongst them was *Ādityasena* who established himself in great strength after the death of *Harṣa* and celebrated the horse sacrifice. About the end of the 8th century, the Gupta power became extinct altogether and their territory passed into the hands of the *Pāla* dynasty of Bengal.

GUPTA CHRONOLOGY.

Name of the ruler.	Title.	Years of reign A. D.	Length of reign.	Remarks.
Chandragupta I	Vijayāditya	26th Feby 320 A. D	7 years.	
Samudragupta	Aśokāditya	327-378	51 "	
Chandragupta II	Vikramāditya	378-414	36 "	
Kumaragupta I	Mahendrāditya	414-456	42 "	
Skandagupta	Parākrarāditya	456-481	25 "	
Budhagupta		477-485	...	
Puragupta	Prakāśāditya	481-486	5 "	
Narasimbhagupta	Bālāditya	486-521	35 "	
Kumārargupta II	Kramāditya	521-565	44 "	
		Total.	245 years.	

*Note :—*The length of the reign of each king is taken from the Kaliyuga-Rāja-Vṛttānta.

(2) According to this authority, Kumārgupta II ruled for 44 years; the author of the Jain Hari Vams'a however states that the reign of the Guptas lasted in all for 231 years.

एते प्रणतसामन्ताः श्रीमद्भुक्तुलोद्भवाः

श्रीपार्वतीयानग्रभृत्यनामानश्चक्रवर्तिनः

महाराजाधिराजादिबिरुदावल्लङ्कृताः

भोक्ष्यन्ति द्वे शते पञ्चचत्वारिंशच्च वै समाः

K. R. V.

गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम्

एकत्रिंशच्च वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतम्

Jain Harivams'a.

CHAPTER XVI

THE WHITE HUNS.



The Huns who as we have seen brought down the downfall of the Gupta dynasty were a nomad people who belonged to the same stock as the great tribe of the Yueh chi, * which played such an important part in the History of India in the first century of the Christian era. They were at first known as Hoa or Hoatun but they subsequently assumed the name of Ye-tha-i-li-to after the name of their royal dynasty and were briefly designated the Yethas. According to the Chinese authorities, they crossed the Oxus in about the year 420 A. D. and proved thenceforth a source of constant danger to the integrity of Persia and the neighbouring kingdoms. At first, they were unsuccessful for King Bahrām V of the Sassanian dynasty succeeded in warding off their furious onslaughts but in A. D. 484, King Firoz, while trying to save his country from a similar attempt was defeated and slain and it lay at their feet until their power was finally broken by Khūshrū Noshirwān.

Their incursions into India date from the year 455 A. D. when they made the first inroad into the Gupta territory. It was, as we have seen, unsuccessful and the Emperor Skandagupta was able to drive the invaders back. They however persisted in their daring incursions, and completely reduced to subjection the Kuṣana kingdom

* See the article regarding Ephthalites in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1910.

of Kābul while about the year 480 A. D. the kingdom of Gandhāra acknowledged their sway. Our information on the subject is derived from the Chinese traveller Sung Yun who travelled in this part of the country in 520 A. D. and who observed as follows * :—

“ During the middle decade of the 4th month of the first year of Ching Kwong (520 A. D.) we entered the kingdom of Gandhāra. This country closely resembles the territory of U-chang. It was formerly called the country of Ye-po-lo. This is the country which the Yethas destroyed and afterwards set up Lae-lih to be king over the country; since which events two generations have passed. ”

The Huns were thus close to the frontiers of India and though the details of the campaign which made them masters of a considerable part of India north of the Narmadā are not available, it is likely that the Mers who appear to have settled in Rājputāna, by this time, were either an offshoot of the Huns or were closely connected with them by an alliance. If this view is correct, it becomes possible to trace their progress step by step, for there are a number of cities in Rajputāna which end in the tribal name “ Mer, ” with the names of their leaders such as Ajo, Jesal, Bad, Komal, &c, prefixed to them and they would thus represent the places where they were established, in great strength, before Toramāṇa, the first Hun chief of whom we have definite information appeared on the scene.

Our knowledge about this great Hun chief is derived both from his inscriptions and coins. Of the former, three have been found viz. at Eraṇ in the Saugar District

* Beale's Buddhistic Records I. xcix.

of the Central Provinces, at Kura in the Salt range and at Gwālior in Central India, of which the last is dated in the 15th year of Mihirakula-his son and successor. His coins are chiefly of silver and their distribution as well as that of the inscriptions shows that he was a ruler of a considerable part of India north of the Narmadā. It is likely that the country of Kāshmir was also comprised in his domain for the Rājatarāṅgiṇī distinctly refers to a king of that name. The question is however wrapped in some obscurity for while the inscription at Gwalior refers to him as the father of Mihirakula and therefore removed from him by one generation, the Toramāṇa of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī is separated from him by several generations. *

The coins of Toramāṇa are an imitation of the later coins of King Firoz, who as we have seen was slain in 484 A. D. and he may, therefore, be assumed to have come to power in 485 A. D. Dr. Fleet is inclined to assign to him a long reign as some of his coins bear the date 52 which he interpretes to refer to his regnal year but it is more likely that the reference is to a special era started by the Huns about the year 448 A. D. †

He was succeeded by his son Mihirakula in the year 502 A. D. All accounts agree in stating that he was a very powerful ruler and though they generally describe his cruelties only, the fact that he is expressly referred to in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, by Hiuen Tsang and a number of Jain writers e. g. Jinasena, Guṇabhadra and Nemichandra clearly establishes the

* See Epi. Ind. Vol. I. p. 238.

† See Prof. Pāthak's article 'Gupta era and Mihirakula,' in Sir Bhandarkar's Commemoration Volume p. 217.

fact that his name was regarded with terror throughout the length and breadth of India and that the memory of his deeds long survived. Kāshmir was probably the first country to feel the force of his arms and he is referred to in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī as one of the Kāshmir kings. A strange event led him to carry his arms to the southernmost countries of India and to Ceylon. He, states the Kāshmir Chronicle, once noticed that his queen wore on her bosom a garment made of cloth from Ceylon marked with golden foot prints of the king of the land. Enraged at this imaginary insult, he resolved to uproot the power of that king and going over to Ceylon dethroned him and on his return is said to have scattered the power of the Choḷa, Karmāṭa Lāṭa and other kings of the South. Despotie by nature, his successes made him utterly reckless and the Rājatarāṅgiṇī notes a number of cases illustrating his tyranny.* "He," it states 'had no pity for children, no compassion for women and no respect for the aged.'" It then proceeds to state that when he was returning to Kāshmir from Ceylon he heard the terrified shriek of an elephant who had fallen over a precipice which delighted him so much that he caused one hundred living elephants to be rolled down by force, to hear their cries of agony.

The Jain and Buddhist writers also testify to the cruel nature of the king and speak of him as a persecutor of both the religions. The Jain writer Guṇabhadra who refers to him as Śakarāja admits that he was a ruler of the whole earth but says that he was the foremost among the wicked men (दुर्जनादिभः) a perpetrator of sinful deeds (अकर्मकारिन्) and an oppressor of the world (उद्ध्वंसितभूतलः) He also gives the year of his birth and referring to him

as Kalkirāja states that he was born when one thousand years of the Duhs'ama kāla commencing from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra had elapsed. This read with the statement of Jinasena that the Śaka king—the founder of the Śaka era—was born when 605 years and 5 months had passed from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, establishes the fact that Kalkirāja was born 394 years and 7 months after the birth of the Śaka king that is, the Śaka era of A. D. 78, commencing from the month of Chaitra and the exact date of his birth would thus be as pointed out by Prof. K. B. Pathak, the 1st of the bright half of the month of Kārttika of Śaka 394 expired, corresponding to A. D. 472. According to Jinasena, he ruled for 42 years and died at the age of 70 in the year 542 A. D.*

The history of his defeat is still wrapped up in much obscurity but it can be safely said that king Bālāditya of the Gupta dynasty was one of the rulers who checked his victorious career. The Gupta king was at first unsuccessful and was obliged to flee from his capital but Mihirakula was, later on, met by him in a mountainous region admirably fitted for defence and was defeated and taken prisoner. The victor was about to put the captive to death but the queen mother interfered on his behalf and ordered him to be brought to his presence. A fine dialogue then passed between him and the royal mother which is interesting as describing the feelings of a prince whose efforts have failed and the sympathy which women generally feel for persons struck by misfortune.

Mihirakula covering his head with his mantle through shame said, 'A little while ago, I was prince of a victorious country; now I am a prisoner condemned to death. I have lost my kingly estate, and I am unable to offer my religious services; I am ashamed in the presence of my ancestors and of my people. In very truth, I am ashamed before all, whether before heaven or earth. I find no deliverance. Therefore I hide my face with my mantle.' The mother of the king said, "Prosperity or the opposite depends on the occasion; gain and loss come in turns. If you give way to events, you are lost; but if you rise above the circumstances, though you fall, you rise again. Believe me, the result of deeds depends upon the occasion. Lift the covering from your face and speak with me. I may perhaps save your life."

The words were not uttered in vain, for she requested her son to forget the past and the king granted her request. Mihirakula was thus a free man but he soon encountered a more formidable foe viz Yas'ovarman, the king of Mālwa, who completely broke his power. An account of his achievements has been preserved in the Mandasor inscription which refers to him as

"He who.....enjoys those countries.....which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptas, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (remainder of the) earth (and) which the command of the chief of the Huṇas, that established itself on the tiaras of (many) kings, failed to penetrate, he before whose feet chieftains, having (their) arrogance removed by the strength of (his) arm bow down, from the neighbourhood of the (river) Lauhitya upto the (mountain)

Mahendra, the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of Tala trees, (and) from (Himālaya) the mountain of snow, the table lands of which are embraced by the river Gangā up to the western ocean...he through the embraces of whose arms, the (Himālaya) mountain of snow carries no longer the pride of the title of being a place that is difficult of access : he to whose two feet, respect was paid with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (his) head, by even that (famous) king Mihirakula, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (his) arm (in the art of compelling) obeisance. ”

A very interesting question with regard to Yas'odharman is whether he is identical with king Vikramāditya, famous in Indian legends as one of India's most popular kings.

It is discussed at great length by Dr. Hoernle and he comes to the conclusion that he is. * The question cannot be said to have been definitely settled but there is indeed strong evidence in favour of the view. Some of it is furnished by Alberunī who speaking of Vikramāditya says that a Śaka king was practising great tyranny when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight, and killed him in the region of Karur between Multān and the castle of Loni. As the people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant, the date was used as the epoch of an era specially by the astronomers and they honoured the conqueror by adding Śrī to his name so as to say “ Śrī Vikramāditya. ” He however pertinently adds, “Since there is a long interval

* J. R. A. S 1909 p. 88-144.

between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of the Śaka, we think that the king Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name, is not identical with that one who killed the Śaka but only a namesake of his."

According to the author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* "Vikramāditya was the son of king Mahendrāditya of Ujjayinī in Avanti and succeeded his father on the throne at a time when India was overrun by the Mlechchhas. He is said to have had also the name of Viṣamaśīla. He made a digvijaya in which he conquered the Deccan and the western border, Madhyadesa and Saurāstra, also all the eastern region and Kāshmir. In the latter country, he slew hosts of Mlechchhas and his vassal kings included Nimruka, king of the Persians.

None of the two authors give us any details regarding the Mlechchhas whom king Vikramāditya overthrew but the observations of contemporary authors show that these must be the Huns for according to Sung-yun, they had, two generations before he entered Gandhāra in 520 A. D., destroyed the country and set up a nominee of their own † and Hiuen Tsang also bears testimony to their being established in the country near Sakala, to the rule of Mihirakula in that part and to the terror, he inspired in the heart of his subjects.

As the rule of the dynasty endured for two generations only and as there was nothing in their civilisation which could easily have been assimilated by the Indian people, the Huns have left very little trace of their domination in India. About their general characteristics, the Chinese traveller Sung Yun referred to above has left

† Travels of Sung Yun B. R. W. W. p. c.

us an interesting account and it is well worth a quotation. "The land of the Ephthalites" he says, "are abundantly watered by the mountain streams which fertilise them and flow in front of all the dwellings. They have no walled towns but keep order by means of a standing army that constantly moves here and there. These people also use felt garments. In the summer, the people seek the cool of the mountains; in the winter, they disperse themselves through the villages. They have no written characters and their rules of politeness are very defective; they have no knowledge at all of the movements of the heavenly bodies and in measuring the year, they have no intercalary month, or any long or short months; but they merely divide the year into twelve parts and that is all. They receive tribute from all surrounding nations on the south as far as Tieh-lo; on the north, the entire country of Lae-leh; eastward to Khotan and west to Persia-more than forty countries in all. When they come to the court with their presents for the king, there is spread out a large carpet about forty paces square, which they surround with a sort of rag hung up as a screen. The king puts on his robes of state and takes his seat upon a gilt couch which is supported by four golden phoenix birds. When the ambassadors of the great Wei dynasty were presented, (the king) after repeated prostrations received their letter of instruction. On entering the assembly, one man announces your name and title : then each stranger advances and retires. After the several announcements are over, they break up the assembly. This is the only rule they have; there are no instruments of music, visible at all. The royal ladies of the Yetha country

also wear state robes which trail on the ground, three feet and more. They have special train bearers for carrying their lengthy robes. They also wear on their heads a horn in length eight feet and more, three feet of its length being red coral. When the royal ladies go abroad, they are carried; when at home, they seat themselves on a gilded-couch which is made from the ivory of a six tusked white elephant with four lions for supporters. Except in this particular, the wives of the great ministers are like the royal ladies. They in like manner cover their heads using horns from which hang down veils all round, like precious canopies. Both the rich and the poor have their distinctive modes of dress. These people are of all the four tribes of barbarians, the most powerful. The majority of them do not believe in Buddha. Most of them worship false gods. They kill living creatures and eat their flesh. They use the seven precious substances which all the neighbouring countries bring as tribute and gems in great abundance. It is reckoned that the distance of the country of the Yetha from our capital is upwards of 20000 li. *

* Buddhistic Records of the Western World Vol. I xci.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE MAITRAKAS.



The decline of the powerful dynasty of the Guptas combined with the disappearance of the Hun domination paved the way for the establishment of a number of kingdoms in the different parts of India. Of these, one of the most well known is that of the Maitrakas who established themselves at Valā in Kāthiāwād and founded a kingdom which lasted for more than 250 years.

As mentioned before, there is reason to believe that the Maitrakas were established in great strength in the province of Rājputāna. A Mehr tradition records the fight of Makaradhvaja (the fish banner) with one Mayuradhvaja (the peacock banner) in which the latter were defeated and as it appears from a copper plate found in Morbi that the fish was the badge of the Mehrs and the peacock the badge of the Guptas, it would seem that the tradition is but a reminiscence of the war between the Mehrs and the Guptas.

The identity of the Mehrs with the Maitrakas may be inferred from the fact that both Mihira and Mitra are the names of the " sun " and the Mihiras or Mehrs are still found distributed in large numbers in Kāthiāwād and Rājputāna. Whether the Mihiras derived their names from Mihirakula, cannot be said with certainty but both the etymology of the word and the history of the tribe strongly favour the view.

Of Bhatārka, the founder of the dynasty which established itself at Valā, we have nothing but the name. He is referred to as Senāpati* in the grants engraved on the copper plates of his successors and had four sons, Dharasena, Droṇasimha, Dhruvasena and Dharapatta. Dharasena was like his father a general "whose wealth was lived upon by poor and helpless people."† Droṇasimha is called a Mahārāja, and is stated to have been anointed king by the paramount sovereign in person. Dhruvasena was 'a lion who defeated single handed by the strength of his own arm, the array of the troops of the elephants of (his) enemies; about Dharapatta, the grants do not give any information. Although Droṇasimha was the first king of the dynasty, no grant issued by him has, as yet, been discovered and we are thus left in a doubt as to who was the ruler who invested him with regal power. Dr. Jackson was inclined to think that it was Yas'odharman as he was the only ruler to whom the description would have accurately applied but it is more likely that the king referred to is Mihirakula who, as we saw in the preceding chapter, also ruled over an extensive kingdom and belonged to the same tribe as the Maitrakas ‡

Judging from the numbers of copper-plates grants discovered, Dhruvasena was the first important ruler of the dynasty. They are as a rule issued from Valabhi and bear dates varying from V. E. 206 to V. E. 216 corresponding to A. D. 525 to 535. The king was a Vaiṣṇava by religion and is repeatedly referred to in the

* Epi. Ind Vol. XI p. 105. + Epi Ind. Vol. XI. p. 105.

† The Kaliyuga Raja Vṛttānta says that Bhatārka was a general of the Guptas and that evidently is the reason why the Valabhi and the Gupta eras date from the same year.

inscriptions as a “ paramabhāgavata ” in contrast to his elder brothers who are spoken of as paramamāhes'varas or the worshippers of Śiva. On the other hand, his niece Dudda was a Buddhist and is said to have dedicated a Buddhist monastery at Valabhi.

The king was succeeded by Guhasena, the son of his brother Dharapatta according to a grant dated V. E. 240 which states that his sins were washed by falling at the feet of Dhruvasena I. He consolidated and extended the kingdom which he inherited as may be inferred from the fact that the grants made by him are issued not only from Valabhi but from other places as well. The Gohil Rajputs probably derive their name from him.

By religion, he was like his uncles Dharasena and Droṇasimha a devotee of Śiva, but he is also referred to as paramopāsaka which undoubtedly points to the fact that he was favourably inclined to the religion of Buddha. He was succeeded by his son Dharasena I who had a long reign as his grants bear dates extending from V. E. 252 to V. E. 270 corresponding to A. D. 571 to A. D. 589. From him, the crown passed to his son Śilāditya also known as Dharmāditya and the grants issued by him bear dates ranging between V. E. 275 (A. D. 594) and V. E. 290 (A. D. 609).

Śilāditya was succeeded by Kharagraha his brother. No copperplate grants issued by him or his successor Dharasena II have been discovered evidently because the dynasty had declined in importance owing to the extensive kingdom founded by king Harṣavardhana of Kanoj. The Valabhi grants as might be expected contain no reference to it but the Navsāri grant of Jayabhatta III, the Gurjara king of Broach who flourished from A. D.

705 to 734 speaks of the defeat of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena II, the successor of Dharasena by the ruler and adds that Dadda II (A. D. 620 to 650) protected the king in his hour of trial. Further misfortune was however averted by his marriage with the daughter of the son of the ruler.

An account of the Valabhi kingdom is preserved by Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller who visited India at the time. "The country" he says "is 6000 li in circuit, the capital about 30. The character of the soil, the climate and manners of the people are like those of the kingdom of Mālava. The population is very dense; the establishments rich. There are some hundred houses or so who possess a hundred lākhs. The rare and valuable products of distant regions are here stored in great quantities. There are some hundred Sanghārāmas with about 6000 priests. Most of them study the little vehicle according to the Sammitiya school. There are several hundred Deva temples with very many sects of different sorts. "

Referring to the reigning king, he observes " his name is Dhruvapata. He is of a lively and hasty disposition, his wisdom and state craft are shallow. Quite recently, he has attached himself to the three precious ones. Yearly, he summons a great assembly and for seven days gives away most valuable gems, and exquisite meals and on the priests, he bestows, in charity, the three garments and medicaments or their equivalent in value and precious articles made of rare and costly gems of the seven sorts. Having given them, in charity, he redeems them at twice their price. He esteems virtue

and honours the good; and reverences those who are noted for their wisdom.

Such was the Valabhi kingdom in the time of Dhruvasena II. Before proceeding further, we will turn to give a brief account of the Emperor Harṣa who rose into prominence by this time and brought the whole of Northern India under his sway.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EMPEROR HARṢA.

A. D. 606 TO 647.



The Emperor Harṣa was the son of Mahārājā Prabhākarvaradhana, by his wife Yas'omatī and traced his descent from Puṣpabhūti, the ruler of a district known as Sthānes'vara. In the words of Bāṇa, the celebrated author of the Harṣacharita and Kādambarī, "the country was blessed like the world's first youth with sweet fragrance of lovely flowers in diverse colours, and bedecked like the road to Dharma's gynæceum with many buffaloes stained from rolling in saffron."

Of the successors of Puṣpabhūti, no account is available until we come to Mahārājā Naravardhana. He had by his wife Vajrinidevī, a son the Mahārājā Rājyavardhana I, the devout worshipper of the Sun and his son was the Mahārājā Ādityavarman by his wife Apsarādevī. The king was married to Mahāsenaguptadevī and was succeeded by his son the paramabhattachāraka, the Mahārājādhirāja Prabhākarvardhana, also known as Pratāpasīla. He had to wage war with a number of people chief amongst whom were the Hūṇas who appear to have maintained a small kingdom, probably in the neighbourhood of Kāshmir. He also proceeded further west and defeated the king of Gandhāra and in

the south vanquished the kings of the Mālavas, of the Gūrjaras and of the Lātades'a. †

The Hūṇas however continued to give him trouble and the king was, therefore, obliged to send his eldest son Rājyavardhana to check their aggressions. He was accompanied by Harṣa but being young, he does not appear to have cared as much for the battlefield as for the hunt. The expedition was successful but while he was still engaged in his campaign, Pṛabhākaravardhana died of fever and both Rājyavardhana and Harṣa had to hasten to the capital.

Rājyavardhana being the elder succeeded to the throne but before he could turn his attention to the administration of his kingdom, he received news that Gṛhavarman, the husband of his sister Rājyas'rī was murdered by the king of the Mālavas and his sister confined in prison at Kānyakubja. Leaving his brother to take care of his kingdom, he set out to punish the miscreant and defeated the Mālava king with ease, taking immense booty, consisting of " elephants in thousands booming with deep roars like clouds alighted upon the earth, horses swift as antelopes, ornaments of diverse kinds raining floods of morning radiance, wondrous pearl necklaces that had toyed with scent of the bosoms of love intoxicated Mālava women " What force could not achieve, his enemies however effected by stratagem and the king of Gauḍa, Narendragupta, according to one manuscript of the Harṣacharita‡ and Sas'anka according to Hiuen Tsang induced him by false civilities to go to his camp and there weaponless, confiding and alone, he was murdered in cold blood.

† Epi Ind Vol I p. 67. ‡ Vide Epi Ind VI. 143.

The tragic news reached Harṣavardhana and though he was naturally much affected by the loss of three of his dearest relations in quick succession, he promptly decided to lose no time in fruitless mourning and to attend to the task of recovering his sister which had been interfered with by his brother's unexpected death. It proved a very arduous affair, for, while she was yet in prison, Kāṇḍyakubja passed into the hands of a ruler named Gupta and taking advantage of the confusion that ensued Rājyas'rī managed to escape from her place of confinement and either because she did not know the way to her brother's house or it was impossible for her to go there, wandered away to the Vindhya forest. Harṣa was therefore obliged to follow her there and after much fruitless wandering succeeded in tracing her whereabouts just in time, because Rājyas'rī tired of life and reduced to destitution was about to commit suicide by mounting the funeral pyre. Harṣa's opportune arrival averted the catastrophe and the brother and the sister returned to the capital accompanied by the numerous attendants who formed the king's retinue.

Here the narrative of Bāṇa stops short. He does not give as might have been expected any account of the campaigns which made him master of the whole of Northern India, nor does he refer to his wars with Pulikeś'in 11 of the Chālukyas who inflicted on him a severe defeat on the banks of the Narmadā * but fortunately, an account of these events has been left to us by Hiuen Tsang.

* Epi. Ind. X 105.

According to him, the king had an army of 5000 elephants, a body of 2000 cavalry and 50000 foot soldiers and with its help he moved from east to west, subduing all who resisted his authority so that the elephants were not unharnessed, nor the soldiers unbelted. Within six years, he subdued the five Indies and by utilising the resources of the country, he had subjugated, he raised an army of 60000 war elephants and 100,000 cavalry.

Like all great rulers, he was however not only a great military leader but an able administrator and spared no efforts to make his subjects happy. He built *Punyasālās* on the highways of towns and villages throughout India and in order to minister to the wants of travellers, physicians were also stationed at the places, and poor persons supplied with medicine free of charge. Rules of temperance were strictly enforced and the slaughter of any animal for food was rigourously prohibited. Though as gathered from the inscriptions relating to him, he was a *parama-māheśvara* or a worshipper of Śiva, he honoured *Brāhmaṇas* and *S'rāmaṇas* alike; persons well versed in religious lore used to flock to his capital from all quarters every year and the Emperor used to bestow gifts on the deserving providing food, medicine, drink and clothing for all. Every fifth year, a great assembly called *Mokṣa* was held and then, we are told, all his treasuries were emptied, the only things reserved being the soldiers' arms. A patron of virtuous men, he rewarded the good and punished the wicked degrading evil persons and promoting men of talent. His love for virtue formed the guiding principle in relation to his neighbouring kings and princes so that if they lived a religious and a virtuous life, they were treated as

friends but he never spared any attempt to humiliate those leading an religious life.

Of the system of administration, it does not seem, there were any special features but comparing the list of officers mentioned in the Madhuban plate with the officers mentioned in the Valabhi grants, we find several officers mentioned for the first time in the former viz. Dauhsādhosādhanika probably governors placed in conquered territories and entrusted with their management, Prāmātāras and Upārīka. The officers commonly named are the Rājasthāniya or the secretary who had to deal with questions relating to other states, Kumārāmātyas or members of the royal family doing ministerial work and Viṣayapatis or heads of districts. According to the Harṣacharita, Bhaṇḍi the cousin of the king was his chief minister and Skandagupta was his Commander-in-chief. Bhaṇḍi is also mentioned by Hiuen Tsang and Skandagupta is referred to as Mahāsāmanta and Mahā-pramātara in the Madhuban plate referred to above.

The dominant note of the social life of the period was plain living and high thinking and we have a good illustration of that in the description given by Bāṇa of his return home after he had finished his studies and seen something of the world. "There," it is said "Bāṇa roamed about happily in the homes of his kindred, seen after a long absence, resonant as they were with the noise of continual recitation—filled with young students attracted by the sacrifices, with their foreheads white with sectarian marks made of ashes—with the terraces in front of the doors green with little beds of Soma plants, all fresh from recent watering—with the rice for the sacrificial cakes laid out to dry scattered on the skins of the

black antelope—with the fuel leaves and bundles of green Kus'a grass brought by hundreds of pure disciples—with the oblations of wild rice strewed by the young maidens and fuel—with the filled with heaps of cow-dung and fuel—by the round covered terraces in their courts marked by the round hoofs of the cows as they came in for the daily offering—with troops of ascetics, busied in pounding the clay for making pots—with the sacred limits purified by heaps of udumbara branches brought to make pegs to mark out the altars for the three sacrificial fires—with the ground white with lines of offerings to the Vis'vadevāh-vit, the sprays of the trees in the courts grey with the smoke of oblation—with the wanton calves sporting about, caressed by the young cow-herds—with the succession of animal sacrifices clearly suggested by the young spotted goats playing about—all peaceful through the cessation of the labours of the Brāhmaṇa teachers while busy repetitions were now commenced by the parrots and Mainās.

Again, when Bāṇa returns to his native place, after having been introduced to his great royal master, the questions he puts to his companions regarding their study gives us a good insight into the subjects studied and the student's life. He asks 'Have you been happy all this time? Does the sacrifice proceed without hindrance, gratifying the Brāhmaṇa groups by its faultless performance? Do the fires devour oblations with ritual duly and without flaw performed. Do the boys pursue their studies at the proper time? Is there the same unbroken daily application to the Vedas? The old earnestness in the practice of the art of sacrifice? Are there the same classes in grammar exposition showing

respect by days not idly spent, in a series of emulous discussions. Is there the old logic society, regardless of all other occupations? The same excessive delight in the Mīmāṃsā dulling all pleasure in other authoritative books? Are there the same poetic addresses raining down an ambrosia of ever new phrases?

Such was the life the people led. It is the same which but half a century ago, marked the home of every Brāhmaṇa in India and which one can still find in places not within the sphere of the all absorbing Western civilization. There was agriculture, there was trade-trade even with foreign countries on a large scale but the methods were such as were by experience of centuries found to be the most adopted to the needs of the teeming millions of India. The result was that agriculture prospered, trade flourished and the people were happy, and this is borne out by an impartial eye witness, who visited India in that distant past and who has left us a very faithful account of what he saw. He says :-

“ The soil is rich and productive, and abounds with grain. The climate is genial though hot. The manners of the people are cold and insincere. The families are rich and given to excessive luxury. They are much addicted to the use of magical arts and greatly honour men of distinguished ability in other ways. Most of the people follow after worldly gain; a few give themselves to agricultural pursuit. There is a large accumulation here of rare and valuable merchandise from every quarter. ” *

* Beale-Buddhist Records.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE MAITRAKAS. (Contd).



The Emperor Harṣa died without leaving any direct heir and his territory passed on to the dynasty of Bhaṇḍi who is referred to in the Harṣacharita as the son of his maternal uncle*. He was illfitted to maintain the possession of such a vast empire and according to the Gwalior inscription of Mihirabhoja, the Gurjara king Vatsarāja seized by main force the imperial sway from the dynasty and established an independent kingdom. A greater misfortune befell the dynasty when taking advantage of the weakness of its rulers, Arjuna or Aruṇās'va, a minister of Harṣa usurped the royal power and almost thoughtlessly embarked upon a war with China by massacring the members of the Chinese mission sent by the Emperor of the country. The head of the mission Wang-hiuen-tse fled to Tibet and having implored its king who was married to a Chinese princess for help, the king readily placed at his disposal a force of 1200 soldiers and 7000 horsemen. With this, the missionary descended into the plains and inflicted on the army of Arjuna a crushing defeat taking him prisoner with the whole royal household. The city of Tirhut was stormed and five hundred and eighty walled towns made their submission in the course of the campaign.

The result of all this warfare was that the vast empire which Harṣa had founded became dismembered

* Cowell and Thomas-Harṣacharita p. 116.

and one province after another established its independence. One of the more prominent of these was that of Sindh where the Mahomedans who were just rising to fame and planning their conquest of the world established themselves. To their south, the Maitrakas became powerful once more and we resume the account of the successor of Dhruvasena I with whom we left off our narrative of the dynasty in chapter XVII.

He is known as Dharasena III and was the greatest of the Valabhi kings for besides being called Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājāunirāja Parames'vara, he is regularly referred to in the copper plate grants as "Chakravartin". The author of the Bhattachikāvyā flourished in his reign and there is an express reference to him at the end of the book where the author says 'Kāvyamidam rachitam mayā Valabhyām Śrī Dharasena-narendra pālītāyām.'

The king was succeeded by his cousin Dhruvasena III, the third son of Derabhata the son of Śīladitya I. As Derabhata is described as spreading to the south like the royal sage Agastya and as lord of the earth which had for its breasts the Sahya and the Vindhya hills, it would appear that in this time, the Valabhi kingdom became divided and that its southern portion only was ruled over by him. So also Śīladitya II ruled only in the south. No positive information on the point is however available, and it is clear that the successor of Dhruvasena III reunited the two parts of the Valabhi kingdom so that no such distinction is made again. One of his plates proves that the Valabhi power was established even in the northern part of Kāthiāwād as it records the grant of the village of Peḍhapadra in Vanthali, situated in the Navānagar State.

The king was succeeded by his elder brother Khara-graha about whom nothing is known except that he was succeeded by Śilāditya III. The last mentioned ruler was followed by Śilāditya IV, Śilāditya V, Śilāditya VI and Śilāditya VII, in regular succession and then, the Valabhi dynasty came to an end.

The causes which led to its disappearance after having flourished for two hundred and fifty years are unknown. According to Hindu tradition, as recorded by Alberunī, the fall of Valabhi was due to a disaffected subject viz. Ranka who in revenge for a wrong inflicted on him persuaded the Arab lord of Mansūr to send an expedition to Valabhi, whereupon the city was suddenly attacked at night and the town and its people destroyed.

It derives some confirmation from the fact that Arab historians do refer to the fact that the Khalif Mansūr sent Amru-bin-Jamāl with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barda, in the vicinity of Porbandar and that although his first attempt was not successful he invaded the country again twenty years later that is in A. D. 776, and succeeded in capturing the place.

On the other hand, a grant issued by the Gurjara king Jayabhata III dated 486 (A. D. 734-5) expressly states that he defeated a king of Valabhi, evidently Śilāditya V and it is thus highly probable that the rulers responsible for the disappearance of their rule from the greater part of Gujarāt were the Gurjaras who were fast rising to power.

Of the administrative system of the Valabhis, the copper plate grants give us a fair idea, as they occasionally refer to the various officers of the State. The

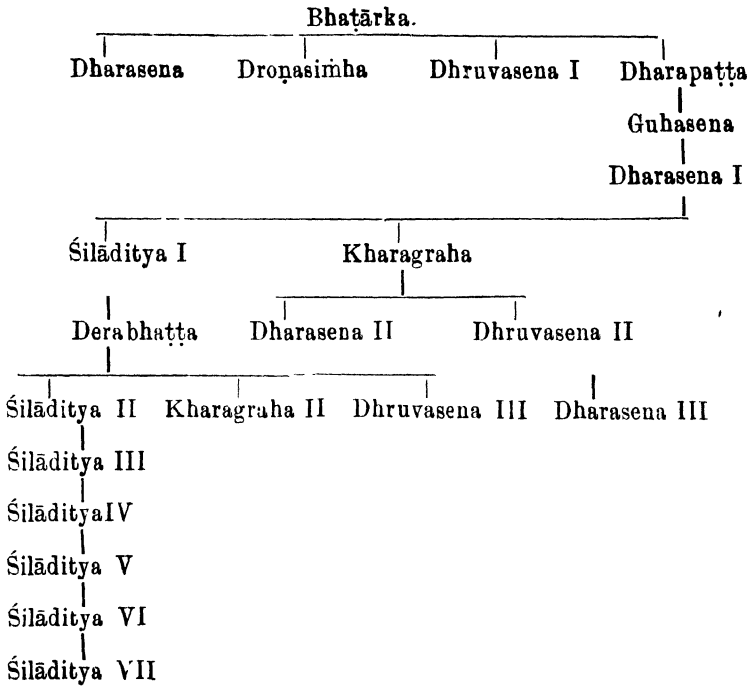
chief amongst these were the Amātya, or the Minister, the Rājasthāniya or the Foreign Secretary, Rāstrapati, the head of a district, Viṣayapati the head of a tāluka, the Āyuktaka, the Viniyuktaka and the Mahattara who were probably superior officers working at the headquarters, and Dhruva or the chief record keeper.

Of the officers connected with the realisation of revenue, we find Bhogika or Bhogoddharaṇika the collector of the Government's share, the Śaulkika or the Superintendent of Tolls and Customs and the Anutpannādānasamuagrāhaka or arrears gatherer. The Drāṅgika—the officer in charge of a town and the Grāma-kuṭa or the village headman are also expressly mentioned.

The principal judicial officer mentioned in the copper plates is the Adhikaraṇika. Of the officers entrusted with Police work, quite a number are mentioned viz. the Chāṭabhaṭas or sepoy entrusted with the work of tracking rogues, the Daṇḍapās'ika—the head police officer, the Chaurroddharaṇika or the thief catcher, the Pratisaraka, watchmen of fields and villages and Vartmapāla stationed on small roadside sheds.

The accompanying chart gives the genealogy of the Valabhi kings.

GENEALOGY OF THE MAITRAKAS.



CHAPTER XX.

THE KĀSHMIR DYNASTY.



While the Maitrakas were ruling in the western corner of India, another dynasty consisting of more distinguished rulers was reigning in the northern corner of Kāshmir and played an important part in the history of Northern India. We gave in a previous chapter some account of the part which the great White Hun chief, Mihirakula played in its history and mentioned some details regarding his reign, as furnished in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī by Kalhaṇa. A somewhat confusing item of the narrative is that it does not place Mihirakula after Toramāṇa but some eighteen generations before. It however approaches the truth more closely when king Harṣa is mentioned as flourishing immediately after Toramāṇa, though here too the date of Toramāṇa's accession viz. Laukika year 3152 or 77 A. D. or of Harṣa's accession viz. 107 A. D. conflicts altogether with the date of these rulers as ascertained by more reliable evidence.

The reference to Harṣa is made in connection with a protege of his named Mātṛgupta. This man, it is stated was a prince of poets* and having heard of Harṣa's benevolent reign, his sincere patronage of learning and his respect for the virtuous, repaired to the king's court in expectation of royal patronage. His hopes

* Rājatarāṅgiṇī III 182.

were not easily realised, and he had to wait long before the king took an interest in his welfare but after all, the king's attention was drawn to his hapless state and as the land of Kāshmir was "without a king," the Emperor nominated him to the vacant throne. He held the kingship for a period of five years when he resigned in favour of king Pravarasena, one of the claimants to the throne.

Pravarasena was a great ruler and the Kāshmir chronicle gives us a detailed account of his expeditions. In one of these, he uprooted the inhabitants of Surāṣṭra on the shores of the western ocean and destroyed their kingdom. He further replaced Pratāpasīla or Śīlāditya son of Vikramāditya who had been dethroned by his enemies in the kingdom of his father and took away to his own capital the family throne which the enemy had carried away. He also defeated eight times king Mummuni, supposed by Dr. Stein to be a ruler of Turkish descent* but who was more probably an aboriginal ruler reigning in the neighbourhood of the Kāshmir kingdom judging from the incident which Kalhana mentions, of his dance in the midst of the king's Court, in the manner of a peacock.

The king also devoted his energy to the construction of works of public utility and two of the most important of these were the erection of a bridge of boats on the Vitastā, and the founding of the city of Pravarapura. His maternal uncle further built Jayendravihāra and caused a statue of the great Buddha to be erected. Further, his minister Morāka who is said to be in pos-

* Stein's *Chronicle of the Kings of Kāshmir* p. 98.

session of Simhala (?) and other isles built on the right bank of the Vitastā Morākabhavana "a wonder of the world which contained 36 lakhs of houses and which contained mansions which reached the clouds and descending which one saw the earth glittering in the rains at the close of summer and covered with flowers in the month of Chaitra."

After a reign which lasted for over sixty years, the king was succeeded by Yudhiṣṭhira II. No event of historical importance occurred in his reign and his fame rested chiefly upon the Vihāras and Chaityas built by his ministers. He was succeeded by his son Narendrāditya after a reign of 39 years and three months and the latter after a shortlived reign of three years by his younger brother Raṇāditya. He married Raṇārambhā who was found by king Ratisena of the Cholas when he was worshipping the ocean, shining like a cluster of jewels among the waves and she, the Kāshmir chronicle tells us, initiated the king in the incantations of Śiva Hātakes'vara.

Like his grandfather, Raṇāditya was a great builder and built the temple of Raṇārambhasvāmin and Raṇārambhadeva as also the temple of Mārtaṇḍa. He also built a faultless hospital for the healing of sick people. The Rājatarāṅgiṇī gives him the extraordinarily long reign of 300 years and names as his successors his son Vikramāditya and Bālāditya the son of Vikramāditya by a Vais'ya. The latter died without leaving a lineal heir and the crown passed to his son-in-law Durlabhavardhana of the Karkoṭa dynasty.

With the accession to power of the Karkota dynasty, we have a firmer basis for the chronology of events for

some of its rulers are mentioned in the Chinese annals of the time. Thus, Durlabhavardhana or Durlabha as he would be shortly called is identical with Tu-lo-pa the king of India, who according to the Chinese accounts controlled the route from China to Kipin between the years A. D. 627-649. Probably, it was in his reign that Hiuen Tsang visited Kāshmir, though it is difficult to say this with certainty, as he does not give the name of the ruling king. He however refers in clear terms to the countries which were subject to Kāshmir and these included Takṣas'ilā east of the Indus, Uras'ā or Hazara and Simhapura or the Salt Range with the smaller hill estates of Rājapuri and Parṇotsa. Of his son and successor Durlabhaka also known as Pratāpāditya II, some coins have been found which closely resemble the general type peculiar to the dynasty. He founded Pratāpapura.

Chandrāpīḍa, his son and successor is identified with Tchen-to lo-pi mentioned in the Chinese annals as ruling over Kāshmir from A. D. 713 to 720. This differs to some extent from the period of his reign as given in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī for, according to it, he reigned from Laukika year 3763 to 3772 i. e. A. D. 688 to 697. "He was rich without the concomitant vices; he favoured all equally and did nothing that embarrassed the people; he was so modest that he felt ashamed when any one praised him for his good works."

The good and benevolent ruler was basely murdered by his brother Tārāpīḍa but he did not long enjoy the kingdom he had thus obtained by foul means and succumbed after a reign of four years to the intrigues of a nature similar to those by which he had got rid of

his brother. His brother Lalitāditya, also known as Muktāpīḍa was the next ruler and with his accession, Kāshmir again became pre-eminent amongst the kingdoms of the time as he established its suzerainty over a number of rulers in the neighbourhood.

One of the most notable of these successes was achieved against king Yaśovarman, the king of Kānyakubja " who had been served by Vākpatirāja the illustrious Bhavabhūti and other poets " (Rāj. IV-144) Gaṇḍa next fell at his feet and thence he proceeded unchecked to the eastern ocean. South of the Vindhya range he defeated the Karṇāṭas " who wear their hair braids high " (Rāj. IV. 151) and sipping the juice of the cocoanut trees at the foot of the palms and fanned by the breeze on the Kāverī, his warriors forgot their fatigue. "The seven Kaṇkaṇas dark with betel nut trees" were next subdued, and in the west, Dwārakā was entered by his army. In the north, a number of tribes were subjugated, chief amongst whom were the Kāmbojas, the Tukhāras and the Darads, inhabiting the region to the north and north-west of Kāshmir. The Turuṣkas were also defeated and as Kalhaṇa puts it " by his command, they were made to carry their arms at their heads to display the mark of their bondage."

The most remarkable event of his reign was the embassy sent by him during the reign of the Emperor Hiuen Tsung (A. D. 713 and 755), to the Chinese court after the first Chinese expedition against Baltistān, which took place between the years 736-747 A. D. Its object was to induce the Chinese Emperor to enter into an alliance against the Tibetans and for the achievement of this purpose, Muktāpīḍa requested him to send a Chinese

auxiliary force, undertaking on his part to make arrangement for the provisioning of 200,000 men. He added that in alliance with the king of Central India, he had blocked the five routes to Tibet. It is difficult to say who was the ruler of Central India referred to; but it was probably Yas'ovarman of Kanoj referred to above, whom Muktāpīḍa persuaded to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance for the purpose of expelling a troublesome enemy. The conclusion of some such treaty is referred to expressly in the Chronicle for it mentions that Muktāpīḍa's minister took objection to Yas'ovarman's name being put first and the name of his royal master being mentioned after him. The mission was received with great honour by the Emperor but the object of the mission was not fulfilled and Muktāpīḍa was as a result obliged to proceed single handed against the Tibetans. His efforts were evidently crowned with success to judge from the fact that the Tibetans are mentioned among the several tribes he reduced to subjection.

In the sphere of administration, the king introduced important changes and created in addition to the eighteen posts in vogue from the times of the Mahābhārata* five new posts viz. (1) the post of the Mahāpratihāra who used to attend to the protection of the city (2) of the Mahāsamdhivigraha the minister of peace and war (3) the Mahās'vas'ālā the great stable where famous horses from all places were kept (4) the Mahābhāṇḍāgāra the central treasury and (5) the Mahāsādhanabhāga, the Department which looked to all questions conducing to the welfare of the state. An admirable feature of the king's policy was that the people who were subjugated

* II v. 38.

were offered high posts, in the administration. Thus, Kalhana speaks of Shāhis holding such posts and one of his ministers Chankuṇa was a Tuhkhāra. On the other hand, the foreigners readily mixed with the people of the soil and we thus find Chankuṇa building a great stūpa and erecting images of the Jinas.

In conformity with the practice of all great rulers of the time, Lalitāditya built a large number of Vihāras, temples &c. At Huṣkapura founded by Huṣka, the successor of Kanishka, he built a splendid shrine of Viṣṇu a large Vihāra and a stūpa. He built also the shrine of Mārtaṇḍa, the ruins of which are still visible. At Chakradhara, he made an arrangement for conducting the water of the Vitastā and distributing it to various villages by the construction of a series of water wheels.

An image of Muktakesava weighing 84000 Tolakas of gold, another of Mahāvarāha clad in golden armour and a silver image of Govardhanadhara were also consecrated by him. A statue of the great Buddha erected by him absorbed 84000 prasthas of copper. He also built the Rājavihāra with a large quadrangular space, a large chaitya and a large image of the Jina. Taking one crore when he proceeded for the conquest of the world, he presented on his return, eleven crores to the shrine of Bhutesa (IV. 189) Of the towns built in his reign, the largest was Parihāsapura the ruins of which were found by Dr. Stein at the modern Parspor. According to him, these show sufficiently that Kalhana's account of their magnificence was not exaggerated.

Great and generous as the ruler was, he was often despotic in his actions. Thus, he got rid of the king of Gauḍa by assassins and persisted in undertaking expeditions

beyond his reach. This led to his death though details regarding the place and the manner in which it happened are wanting. The precepts which the king is said to have communicated to his ministers are of interest and may be quoted, in extenso.

“ Those who wish to be powerful in this land, must always guard against internal dissensions because of foreign enemies (paraloka), they are as little in fear as the Chārvākas of the world beyond (paraloka).

“ Those who dwell there in the mountains difficult of access should be punished even if they give no offence because sheltered by their fastnesses, they are difficult to break up, if they have once accumulated wealth.

“ Every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for year's consumption, nor more oxen than are wanted for the tillage of their fields.

“ Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Dāmaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the King.

“ When once the villagers obtain clothes, women, woollen blankets, food, ornaments, horses, houses, such as are fit for the town, when the kings in madness neglect the strong places which ought to be guarded, when their servants show want of discrimination, when the keep of the troops is raised from a single district, when the officers are closely drawn together by the bonds of intermarriage, when the kings look into the offices as if they were clerks, then a change for the worse in the subjects, fortune may be known for certain.”†

† Dr. Stein's translation p. 154.

The king reigned for 36 years and seven months. Of his successors, the list given at the end of this chapter will furnish the necessary information. Generally speaking, their reigns were uneventful, one of the exceptions being the reign of Jayāpīḍa, the grandson of Lalitāditya. Being an ambitious man like his grandfather, he soon after he came to the throne set out on an expedition for extending his territory. Fortune at first went against him, for, his brother Jajja taking advantage of his absence usurped the throne. Almost simultaneously, his soldiers mutinied and deprived thus both of his kingdom and the only means he had to win it back, the king was obliged to lead a wandering life and to take refuge in the country of a Gauḍa king named Jayanta. His dignified bearing and his handsome appearance soon attracted public attention and their admiration for him increased when with indomitable courage, he killed a lion which was doing havoc in the neighbourhood. The king too was pleased and as a mark of his appreciation gave to him his daughter in marriage. This incited Jayāpīḍa to still braver deeds and defeating five Gauḍa princes, he forced them to acknowledge the supremacy of his father-in-law.

Things at home became also smoother for the exiled ruler, as Devaśarma the son of his minister Mitrasarma succeeded in collecting together the remnants of Jayāpīḍa's army and placed it at the disposal of his master. With its assistance, he defeated the king of Kānyakubja and proceeding onwards, he reached at last the frontier of Kāshmir. A furious battle lasting for several days was fought near the village of Puṣkaletra but Jajja was killed and Jayāpīḍa won back the king-

dom he had lost. "The riches of merchants" says the author of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī "last not if they appropriate what is entrusted to them nor of prostitutes if they deceive their paramours, nor of kings if they get the kingdom by rebellion."

For a time, Jayāpīḍa devoted all his energies to the spread of knowledge and the encouragement of the learned. He introduced such sciences as were long forgotten; invited learned men from other countries to collect the fragments of Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya and was himself a profound student of that subject, taking lessons from Kṣīraswāmi, a professor of Grammar. The title of 'Paṇḍita' was as a result more praised in his reign than that of the 'king' and one Bhaṭṭodbhaṭṭa was made the president of his court on a daily pay of one hundred thousand dināras. Some other learned men of the time were Manoratha, Śaṅkhaḍatta, Chaṭaka and Samdhimat, while Dāmodaragupta, a poet, was his principal minister.

The king's ambition however soon led him again to forsake the company of the learned, and to take up arms against his equals and fitting out an expedition, he took a fortress belonging to king Bhīmasena of the eastern region. He then invaded Nepāl but as he was trying to ford the river, the waters rose and his whole army consisting of men, horses and elephants was borne away by the flood. The king himself was picked up by his enemies by means of a leather bag and was of course made a prisoner, but the intelligence, sagacity and the self-sacrifice of his minister Devasarman procured his release and putting himself at the head of his army, he it is said, inflicted on the king of Nepāl a crushing defeat.

Jayāpīḍa was succeeded by his son Lalitāpīḍa. He was a very sensual king who squandered away all his wealth in bestowing favours upon the Court concubines. So utterly depraved a life did he lead that he began to attend the court accompanied by them. Those who could joke and speak of women, says Kalhaṇa, were his favourites, not warriors or learned men. His sensuality increased with his years but he did not live long. After reigning for twelve years, he was succeeded by his half brother Saṁgrāmāpīḍa and the latter by Chippatājayāpīḍa, also known as Brhaspati.

Brhaspati was the son of Lalitāpīḍa by a concubine named Jayādevī and as he was a minor, all the chief power in the State was usurped by his maternal uncle Utpalaka. He held the five principal posts while other uncles of the king named Padma, Kalyāṇa, Mamma and Dharma held the rest. Even this did not satisfy their greed and after the king had reigned nominally for 12 years, he was murdered in cold blood at their instigation.

The intriguing ministers now set up Ajitāpīḍa the grandson of Vajrāditya on the throne and appropriated all the state revenues to their own use. He reigned for 36 years, and then, a fierce struggle for supremacy ensued between Mamma and Utpalaka which was so obstinate that the Vitastā was choked with dead bodies floating in it. Mamma ultimately came out successful through the efforts of his son and dethroning Ajitāpīḍa crowned Anaṅgāpīḍa, the son of Saṁgrāmāpīḍa. He did not long enjoy his kingship for when he was on the throne for three years, Utpala died and his son Sukhavarman raised Utpalāpīḍa the son of Ajitāpīḍa on the throne. Later on, he became bolder still and

tried to seize the throne himself but in this, he failed through the treachery of a friend who murdered him unawares. The Karkoṭa kings had by this time become completely imbecile and the minister Śūra thereupon dethroned Utpalāpīḍa and having installed Avantivarmā the son of Sukhavarmā, the line of Karkoṭa kings came to an end.

The chief feature of the reign of Avantivarmā was the continuance of the work which Lalitāditya had begun of improving the country by skilful irrigation under the supervision of the engineer Suyya. He constructed canals on the Vitastā for a distance of 42 miles for the purpose of irrigation and a stone embankment seven Yojanas in length to dam the waters of the lake Mahāpaḍma. He also joined the waters of the lake with those of the Vitastā and made the waters of the Indus which flowed to the left of the village of Trigrāma and of the Vitastā which flowed to its south meet each other at Vainyaswāmi. Measures like this naturally increased the fertility of the soil and we are told that the grain which previously used to be obtained for 200 Dīnāras was in his reign obtained for 36 Dīnāras only. The reign of the king was further rendered conspicuous by the number of literary men who flourished in his court viz Muktākāṇa Śivasvāmi, Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara. The king died, after a prosperous reign of 28 years, a staunch Vaiṣṇava, listening to the Bhagavad gītā.

His death was the signal for a fierce contest for the throne, the rivals being Śankaravarmā the son of the late king and Sukhavarmā, the son of Śuravarmā the brother of the king. The support of the royal guard

enabled Śankaravarmā to defeat his opponents and being free from all internal troubles, he set out with an army of 9,00,000 foot, 1,00,000 horse and 300 elephants to extend the limits of his kingdom. Prthivīchandra the king of the Trigartas hid himself but his son Bhuvana-chandra paid him homage. The king next turned his attention to Alakhāna the ruler of Gurjara and having defeated him obliged him to cede Takka which formed part of his domain. He next took up the cause of the king of the Thakkiyaka dynasty and restored to him his kingdom which had been wrested from him by king Bhoja. Lalliyashāh the king of the country which lay between the territory of the Daradas and the Turuṣkas and was a support of Alakhāna was also defeated and driven out of his kingdom.

Elated by success, the king became, later on, extremely avaricious and tyrannical. He began to extort money from towns, houses and villages and created two new offices named Atṭapatibhāga and Gr̥hakṛtya for the purpose. He appropriated to his own use the money which was set apart for the purchase of incense and oil in the temples and used for his own purpose, the income of the villages attached to them. He further reduced the allowance that was paid to his courtiers and levied thirteen new imposts from the villages.

Not content with these exactions, the king renewed the war with the neighbouring kingdoms on the banks of the Indus but he was not as fortunate as before, for, while he was in the midst of his victorious career, an arrow from a hunter struck him, and the king died of the wound.

He was succeeded by Gopālavarmā, his son but as he was young, the real power in the State was wielded by his mother Sugandhā. Though she was a woman of dissolute character, she had great energy and with the aid of her minister Prabhākaradeva defeated the reigning Shāhi and gave over his territory to Toramāṇa, the son of Lalliya, referred to above. Gopālavarmā died after having reigned for 2 years and Śankaravarmā his brother and successor, having died within ten days of his coming to the throne, Sugandhā was left the sole master of the realm. For two years, she ruled the country chiefly with the help of the Ekāṅgas but then the infantry rebelled and Sugandhā was killed in the battle that ensued.

The Tantri infantry now became the master of the country and began to make and unmake kings as suited their convenience. There being no peace, the energy of the ruler who sat on the throne was wasted in combating the internal enemy and the history of the period is one of the continuous intrigues for the throne. Nirjjitavarmā the grandson of Śuravarmā, his son Pārtha and Chakravarmā another son of Nirjjitavarmā were alternately raised and dethroned, Chakravarmā being finally installed a third time after various vicissitudes. Two more rulers followed and then the unfortunate dynasty came to an end.

THE KARKOTA DYNASTY OF KĀSHMIR.

	Laukika date.	year.	m.	d.
Durlabhavardhana Prajnāditya.	3,677-	10- 1	36	
Durlabhaka-Preṭapāditya.	3,713-	10- 1	50	
Chandrāpīḍa-Vajrāditya.	3,753-	10- 1	8	8
Tārāpīḍa-Udayāditya.	3,772-	6- 1	4	... 24
Muktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya.	3,776-	6-25	36	7 11
Kuvalayāpīḍa.	3,813-	2- 6	1	... 15
Vajrāditya Bappiyaka Lalitāditya.	3,814-	2-21	7	
Prthivya-pīḍa.	3,821-	2-21	4	1 ...
Samgrāmāpīḍa.	3,825-	3-27 7
Jajja.	3,825-	3-24	3	
Jayāpīḍa-Vinayāditya.	3,828-	3-28	31	
Lalitāpīḍa	3,859-	3-28	12	
Samgrāmāpīḍa II	3,871-	3-21	7	
Chippatajāyāpīḍa Brhaspati	3,873-	3-28	12	
Ajitāpīḍa	3,889-	0- 0	37	
Anangāpīḍa	3,926-	0- 0	3	
Utpalāpīḍa	3,929-	0- 0	2	
			254	5 27

The commencement of the Laukika era is placed on Chaitra Śudi 1 of Kali Samvat 25 (expired) or the year 3076-75-B. C.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF ŚĀNKARA.



While the political atmosphere was witnessing a series of changes, the religious atmosphere was by no means calm. Buddhism which was so popular, now declined and one finds almost a sudden break in the continuity of the monuments which attest its glorious past.

The history of the causes that led to its decline in the soil of its birth while it continued to flourish in other countries has not yet been written. It is ascribed by some to the fact that the monastic organization on which it was based became weakened owing to the lapse of time and a number of abuses crept in which led to its decay. Others ascribe it to the strength which Brāhmanism derived from the teachings of one of the greatest thinkers of the world viz. Śāṅkārāchārya, and others again, to the spread of Jainism which being founded almost at the same time as Buddhism succeeded in ousting its rival.

It cannot be said that these causes did not operate to loosen the hold that Buddhism had upon the mind of the Indian people but it is quite likely that the political events of India also contributed to its downfall. For, the faith which Buddha preached suited only a race full of vigour and confidence in a bright future. It was one that could appeal only to a people to whom life was a reality and who firmly believed in

the doctrine that virtue has its own reward. The successive invasions of foreign races from the time of Alexander and onwards, shook rudely the people's belief in the principles which Buddha so earnestly inculcated in the mind of his followers. It is easy to imagine how in those troublesome times, every thing must have appeared in a state of flux, unsteady and ephemeral. A ruler who was the controller of the destinies of thousands of his followers on one day would sink into utter obscurity on the next. A merchant who had amassed immense wealth by his industry and intelligence would owing to a conqueror's greed find himself penniless in a moment. A young man in the prime of youth would be suddenly cut off from those whom he loved by meeting death on the battlefield. The struggle for existence becoming keen, every man would try to support himself by fair means or foul, regardless of the right or sufferings of others. The destiny of man would not be in his hands, but a result of circumstances which he could not foresee and whose effects he could not avert. Famine and pestilence coming oft and on would add to the ravages of continuous warfare. In fact, every event would tend to show to the reflective mind that the world was full of endless misery from which no one was free and from which death was the only escape.

The strictly moral code of Buddha was out of place in such times while Śankara's philosophy was admirably fitted to appeal to the people's mind. The world, he said, is a delusion and to be attached to things worldly is to catch the shadow and to neglect the substance. The ruler who flushed with success enters a city accompanied by troops and by all the pomp that surrounds

royalty is after all none but an actor in the vast drama of this Universe and we need not devote our thoughts to him more than we would to an actor on the stage, playing the part of a king; for great though the disparity may seem to a person with a limited vision, it dwindles into insignificance when viewed by a person who is one with the Eternal. Again, man is fondly attached to his family and yet are not his parents, his wife and his children mere forms that will vanish one day or the other ? In fact, everything in this world has its limit of time and space; why should then one be attached to it, neglecting the Brahma or the eternal which alone is not subject to these laws. Being one with the eternal, everything ephemeral will cease to affect him and he will attain to that bliss for which we are all so anxious, but which we generally fail to attain, on account of our short sighted vision and misconception.

The Advaita or monistic philosophy which Śankara taught was, it will be noted based on the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. Thus, I am the Eternal-Aham Brahṁāsmi is the truth which the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda asks us to realise. Thou art that – the Eternal-(Tat-tvamasi) says the Sāmaveda. This soul is the Eternal (Ayam Ātmā Brahma) states the Atharvaveda. The Vedic religion and the philosophy of of the Upaniṣads which had owing to the great moral force behind the religion of the Buddha, lost some of their popularity received as a consequence a fresh impetus and Buddhism after having maintained a healthy rivalry for almost twelve hundred years disappeared for ever.

That the struggle with the religion founded by Buddha occupied a very important place in the new

revival is clear from the account given by Mādhavāchārya in the Śankara-digvijaya of the circumstances which led to his birth. He says:-

When Mahādeva was once sitting on the Kailāsa, the Devas approached him and after salutation, prayed that Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Buddha was leading the sugatas astray, and his followers, taking as their guide, the Śāstras framed by him and condemning the Dars'anas, had spread over the whole earth. They ridiculed the institution of the caste and the four orders of life, were jealous of those who had acquired the knowledge of the Brahma, or the Eternal and maintained that the Vedas were only meant to be a source of livelihood. No one on the earth performed the Sandhyā and such other rites. All had taken to hypocrisy and shut their ears the moment they heard the two letters "Kratu" (Yajna). How could the sacrificial rites be performed in such a state and how could they obtain their share of the sacrifice. As the wicked shun all mercy so had these persons shun all sacrificial ceremony. The worshippers of Bhairava and low born Kāpālikas cutting off the heads of Brāhmaṇas offered these to Bhairava, as if they were offering lotus flowers and they knew no restrictions. There were a number of other paths full of thorns and men had become miserable by following these. Be pleased to re-establish the path of the Vedas, so that the people may be happy. "

Mahādeva granted their wish and addressing Kārttikaswāmi said, Viṣṇu and Śeṣa, were already born on the earth as Sankaraṣana and Patanjali to expound the

Upāsana Kāṇḍa. I shall teach the Jnyāna Kāṇḍa and you the Karma Kāṇḍa. Brahmā and Indra will assist you in the work by being born as Maṇḍanamis'ra and Sudhanvā.

Shorn of the mythical garb in which the account is shrouded, it clearly reveals the fact that before the birth of Śankara, Buddhism had spread over the whole of India, that the sect of Bhairavas which used to offer human sacrifices had gained much strength and a large number of other religious sects had sprung up. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa a native of Āssām, according to some and of Tāmīl according to others had even before the birth of Śankara begun to undermine the influence of Buddhism and he was followed by Śankara.

His most formidable opponent was Maṇḍanamis'ra; so learned was he and so incessant was the discussion held in his house as to whether the Vedas constituted an authority by themselves or were liable to be considered in the light of other authority that as the story goes, even the parrots in his house had learnt to repeat the words “ स्वतः प्रमाणम् परतः प्रमाणम्. He was assisted in this work by his wife Bhāratī who was equally learned and the discussion which both of them had with the youthful Śankara forms one of the most charming episodes in the life of the latter. Maṇḍanamis'ra was in the end defeated and agreeably to the conditions settled, he became a pupil of Śankara and became known as Sures'vara.

The meeting with Maṇḍanamis'ra took place at Mahiṣmatī. Before going there, Śankara had been to Benares and Badrikedāra and had earned great renown by defeating his opponents in open controversy. He

next turned south and visited Gokaṛṇa, Harihar and Mūkāmbikā and at R̥ṣyaśṛṅga on the Tungabhadra established the Śṛṅgeri Maṭha; from thence, he hastened to his mother who was on her deathbed and agreeably to her ardent desire, performed her death ceremonies. As a sanyāsī is not authorised to do so, this drew forth a strong protest from the Brāhmaṇas of his caste who refused to assist him in carrying the corpse to the cremation ground and Śankara had to make his own arrangements in the matter and was excommunicated by the community to which he belonged.

The only tie which bound him to the world being thus severed, Śankara undertook a triumphal tour throughout the whole of India for vanquishing his opponents. The books on the subject give great details about the places he visited and the religious leaders whom he defeated in argument. Chief amongst them were the Śāktas Bhairavas, Kāpālikas, Pās'upatas, Gāṇapatyas, Mallāris, worshippers of Fire and the Sun. He then established convents in the four corners of India viz at Badri Kedār in the north, Śṛṅgeri in the south, Jagannātha in the east and Dwāraka in the west and died at the young age of 32.

Though his life was short, Śankara succeeded in completely ousting Buddhism from India. Brāhmanism was not however destined to be without a rival for Jainism which was already established when Buddha preached his new religion had by this time gained great strength and to its history we now turn.

We have in Chapter I given already a short sketch of its founder. Archaeological evidence shows that it

was held in as high esteem as the two other religions, though it is somewhat difficult to say which of them was the most popular. The evidence of inscriptions upto the end of the eighth century unmistakably points to Buddhism. In its early days, it is even likely that Jainism found it somewhat hard to maintain itself and its followers were compelled to migrate to the south in the reign of the Maurya king, Chandragupta. The Jain records explain it on the ground that it was due to a number of famines occurring in the Magadha country but it is likely that one of the reasons which led them to do so was the antagonism of the rival Buddhist religion. It was not however an unmixed evil for while it led the Jains to establish themselves firmly in the south, the minority who remained in the north took advantage of the opportunity to settle their sacred scriptures and under the leadership of Sthulabhadra, a council of monks was convened at Pāṭaliputra which discussed the matter and arranged systematically their sacred literature consisting of eleven Aṅgas and the fourteen Parvas. Only once did schism arise among them and that related to the wearing of clothes by the ascetics. The Dīgāmbaras maintain that a perfect ascetic must conquer all his emotions and must be so perfectly indifferent to worldly thoughts as to entertain no idea of nakedness in his mind while the Śvetāmbaras taking a more practical view of the matter contended that the wearing of a white garment (Śvetāmbara) is permissible. This gave rise to the two main divisions of the Jains viz. the Śvetāmbaras and the Dīgāmbaras.

The main tenet of the Jain religion is abstinence from killing life. Life is however interpreted by them

in the most extended sense and living creatures are divided by them into five classes viz (1) Those which possess one sense,—the sense of touch; it includes such things as stones, lumps of clay, salts, chalk, diamonds and other minerals; (2) those which possess the sense of touch as well as taste such as animalculæ, worms, leeches, earthworm &c. (3) Living creatures with three organs of sense, in addition, possess the sense of smell e. g. ants, bugs and moths. (4) The Jīvas with four organs of sense possess the sense of touch, taste, smell and sight, such as mosquitoes, flies, locusts, butterflies.&c., while (5) the 5th class possess in addition to these — the sense of hearing.

The Jain conception about Ajīva or inanimate object is equally peculiar, these being divided by them into two classes — Rūpi (with form) and Arūpi (without form). Rūpi ajiva possesses colour, smell, taste and form and is perceptible to touch while Arūpi Ajīva has four subdivisions viz. Dharmāstikāya, Adharmāstikāya, Ākāś'astikāya and Kāla.

Dharmāstikāya helps the Jīva associated with matter to progress just as the water helps the movements of a fish. Adharmāstikāya first attracts without any movement on its part and then keeps motionless the thing attracted. Ākāś'astikāya is that which gives space and makes room. Thus, it is Ākāśastikāya which when a lamp is lighted gives space for its rays to shine or which makes room for a nail when it is knocked into a wall. Kāla or time is that which makes old things new and new things old and is indivisible. It is through the activities of the Jīva and the five divisions of Ajiva that

the Universe exists and these serve the place of a Creator whose existence the Jains do not acknowledge. The Jains also hold that the six schools of Indian philosophy* are a part and parcel of one entire whole and if one be taken by itself, it becomes a false doctrine, quoting the story of six blind men who each laid his hand on the different parts of an elephant and tried to describe the whole animal, in accordance with the characteristics of the part he touched and thus told only a part of the truth.

Besides Jiva and Ajiva, there are seven more 'tattvas' viz :—

- (1) Punya or meritorious deed.
- (2) Pāpa or Sin.
- (3) Āsrava, channels through which Karma, auspicious and inauspicious flows into the soul and comes in the way of its attaining salvation. Chief amongst these are the five senses sight, smell taste, touch and hearing and the four emotions viz. anger, conceit, avarice and attachment.
- (4) Saṁvara or practices by which the flow of Karma in the soul may be impeded e. g. good behaviour, abstinence from injuring any living being, speaking kindly, regularity in diet.
- (5) Bandha or bondage of the soul to Karma
- (6) Nirjarā or destruction of Karma by austerity and
- (7) Mokṣa or salvation.

* Vide Vol 1 p. 2nd 5 et seq.

When the Ātmā is freed from all bondage to Karma and has passed for ever beyond the possibility of rebirth it is said to have attained Mokṣa.* The Jain conception of Mokṣa is thus different from that of the Vedānta. This difference is however more apparent than real because according to the Jains, a being who has attained Mokṣa is without caste, unaffected by smell, without the sense of taste, without feeling, without form, without hunger without pain, without sorrow, without joy, without birth, without old age, without death, without body, without Karma, enjoying an endless and unbroken calm and as a reference to Vol. I will show, this is exactly how the Universal Soul is described,† the knowledge of whose identity with one's self is the goal to which the Vedāntist aspires.

* The Heart of Jainism p. 169.

† Book II. Part II. Chap. IV p. 166.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DYNASTIES OF THE SOUTH.



While the Valabhis were laying the foundation of their power in Surāstra and Gujarāt, a number of dynasties were carving out kingdoms for themselves in the south. Thus, a grant of the Chalukya King Pulakesin II dated in A. D. 634-5 mentions that he overthrew and dispossessed the Nalas, the Mauryas, the Kadambas and the Kaṭachchuris or Kalachuris and that in the neighbourhood of the kingdom which he thus established, he came in contact with the Gangas, the Ālupas, the Lāṭas, the Mālavas, the Gurjaras, the Kālīṅgas, the Pallavas, the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pāṇḍyas. The names of some of these are already familiar to us, but there are others which are new and we will give a brief account of them as gathered from inscriptions discovered chiefly in Southern India.

The Nalas are of all the rulers mentioned the least known and it is likely that they ruled over a territory referred to as "Naḷavādi Viṣaya" in the copperplate grant of Vikramāditya I of about A. D. 657 and believed to be situated in the neighbourhood of Bellary and Karnal. The Mauryas must have been the descendants of the great Maurya dynasty who after its decline managed to maintain a small kingdom in Western India, with Puri, the goddess of fortune of the Western ocean as their capital. The place has not been conclusively identi-

ficd, some identifying it with Ghārāpuri or Elephanta the island near Bombay noted for its caves and others with Thānā in the district of that name, Rājpurī in the Colaba Agency or Rājāpur in the Ratnāgiri District.

Of the Kadambas, better details are available as a number of inscriptions have been found giving a pretty clear idea of the rulers and the country over which they ruled. One of the well known inscriptions relating to them is that found by Mr. Rice in Talagunḍa (Sthāna kundur) in Mysore which gives the following account of their origin.*

“ There was a family of Brāhmana Hāritīputras and born in the Mānavya Gotra, who always planted the Kadamba tree in the neighbourhood of their houses and carefully tended it. From this, the family came to be known as the Kadamba family and in it, there was born a certain Mayurasarmā who went with his preceptor Vīrasarmā to the city (or a city) of the Pallavas, having a desire to master in a very brief time the whole of the sacred writings that are designated by the term Pravachana. He was interrupted in his studies by a great commotion in the stables of the Pallavas. And enraged at this, he set himself to show that even in the Kaliage, Brāhmaṇas could be as powerful as the members of the warrior and regal caste. He applied himself to war, conquered the guardians of the frontiers of the Pallava Kings—established himself in a forest difficult of access, in front of the Śrīparvata mountain—and levied taxes from the Bāṇas and other kings. The kings of Kāñchi – the Pallavas sought to overthrow him and attacked him in many battles when

* Rice – Mysore and Coorg p. 21.

he was marching through difficult country and by surprises at night when he was encamped. But with the very ocean of an army that he had got together, he destroyed their forces and brought them low. And at last, the Pallava kings recognising his prowess and ancestry, thought it better to make friends with him and they conferred on him the *Pattabandha* or the binding on of the fillet of sovereignty and gave him a territory on the shore of the western ocean with a promise that it should be free from invasion. The principal seat of their government was *Vaijayanti*, the modern *Banavāsi*. But *Palas'ikā* i. e. *Halsi* was another of their chief cities and a third named *Śrīparvata* is mentioned but it has not yet been identified.

The inscription further mentions that he was succeeded by *Kanguvarman*, that his son was *Bhagīratha* and his son was *Raghu* 'who made the whole earth subject to his family.' His brother known as *Kakusthavarman* caused a large tank to be built at *Sthānakundura* or *Talgunda* at a temple which was held in great reverence by *Sātakarṇi* and is said to have married his daughters to *Gupta* and other kings. Beyond this, no historical information is available either regarding him or his successors until we come to *Mrges'avarman*, his grandson who is said to have overthrown the mighty *Ganga* dynasty and to have been a fire of destruction to the *Pallavas* while his son *Ravivarman* is said to have conquered *Viṣṇuvarman* and to have overthrown *Chandadaṇḍa*, Lord of *Kāñchi*.

The dates of any of these rulers is not known with certainty but it is likely that *Kṛṣṇavarman* the son of *Kakusthavarman* flourished about 475 A. D. and *Hari-*

varman the son of Ravivarman – the fourth in descent from him came to the throne about 538 A. D. During his reign, the dynasty came to an end being displaced by the Chalukyas.*

A very remarkable feature of the dynasty is that they were great patrons of the Jain religion. Thus, an inscription from Devagere† dated in the eighth fortnight of the rainy season, in the fourth year of his reign records the fact that a village named Kālavaṅgā, was divided into three portions by Mrgesavarman and of these one was given to the gods – the divine Arhat and the great Jinendra, one to the community of the ascetics of the Śvetapāṣa Sect, and one to the ascetics of the Nirgrantha sect. The Halsī grant further mentions the fact that he caused a temple of Jina to be built‡ and another issued by his son Ravivarman records various Jain ordinances that were established by him at Palās'ikā including provision for the celebration every year on the full moon day of the month of Kārttika of the eight days' festival of the god Jinendra.

Of the Kalachuris, nothing definite is known beyond the fact that they were the founders of an era called the Kalachuri era dating from the year 249–50 A. D. Pandit Bhagvānlal Indraji's view is that it was first known as the Trikūṭa era founded by a ruler named Is'varadatta but no inscription has as yet been found which would enable us to settle the question. There is however no doubt that the dynasty at one time wielded considerable power, for a grant has been discovered

* Epi. Ind. XIV. p. 166. † Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 37.,

‡ Indian Antiquary Vol. VI. 24.

issued by Mirhullaka, the chieftain of a jungle tribe in the lower valley of the Narmadā which shows that towards the end of the sixth century A. D. the region was occupied by wild tribes who acknowledged the supremacy of the Kalachuri kings.

The dynasty of the Gangas ruled over a country which in the inscriptions is called Gangavādi ninety six thousand, that is, the Gangavādi country, comprising ninety six thousand cities, towns and villages, which lay principally in what is now Mysore territory. Their crest was Madagajendra lānchhana or the crest of the lordly elephant in rut and their banner the "pinchha-dhvaja" or the banner of a bunch of feathers. Talekkād or Taḷakād, identified to be the same as Taḷakād on the left bank of the river Kāverī was their chief seat of government. This was however only a branch and the main dynasty is ascertained to have ruled in the Ganjām District of the Madras Presidency, at Kalinḡ ganagara, the modern Kalingapatam.

Of the Ālupas, who are the next people mentioned, a king named Guṇasāgara is mentioned in the Harihar grant of Vinayāditya dated 692 A. D. and they are referred to again as the Ālūvas, in the Harihar grant of the same king dated in A. D. 694. They are probably identical with Ālukas mentioned in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Kīrtivarman I and as Āluka is an epithet of Śeṣa, the chief of the Nāgas, it would appear as pointed out by Dr. Fleet that they belonged to some aboriginal tribe.

The Lāṭas are, of course, the inhabitants of the Lāṭa country, the ancient name of the territory now known as Gujarāt. Its exact boundaries are hard to

define but there is no doubt that it included at least the country from the Mahī to the Taptī. Vatsayāyana describes it as situated to the west of Mālhwā in his Kāmasūtra and it is thus likely that its boundary extended much more northward. On the east, the country was bounded by the Western Ghāts and the Southern limit extended as far as Navsāri. The country was later on occupied by the Gurjaras and they settled there in such large numbers that it came to be known as Gujarat after them. The name occurs frequently in the records of the Chalukyas, and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings.

Of the remaining people mentioned in the inscription, we have noted already in Chapter III such information as is available about the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas, in the Sanskrit classical works and the writings of the Greeks. On their later history, much light has been thrown by the researches of the Archæological Department and by the labours of Mr. K. V. S. Jyer who has supplemented the work of the Department by a very careful study of Tamil literature bearing on the subject. Pāṇḍya history has as a result been traced back to the 6th century A. D. and the genealogical table at the end will acquaint the readers with the names of its rulers; chief amongst them was Palyāgas'alai Mudukudumi a king whose deeds were so famous as to form the subject of the works of three poets. According to them, "his fame was known in the northern regions beyond the tall and snowy mountains; in the west and east beyond the seas; in the south, beyond the

river Kumari, in the regions below the earth and in the land of the gods, on account of the innumerable sacrifices performed by him. In rendering justice, he resembled the point of a scale. With his army which consisted of huge elephants, he marched against his enemies, took their fortresses, and brought home valuable jewels, with which he rewarded many of those who sought him for presents. Through the streets which were full of ruts caused by the frequent passage of carts, he drove herds of white mouthed asses and destroyed the fortifications of his enemies. He led his big cars, yoked to proved horses, into the cultivated field of his enemies, so as to devastate them by the stamping of their hoofs. He caused destruction to their fresh water tanks guarded by watchers by letting into them a number of thick necked, long tusked, proud footed and angry looking elephants. So many were the sacrifices performed by him that the epithet Palyāgas'ālai came to be attached to his real name Kuḍumi."*

Kaḍungon the next ruler is said to be like the Sun springing out of the stormy ocean and to have quickly removed the right which other kings had over the goddess Earth and a similar account is given of Māravarman but the Pāṇdyas really attained to eminence in the time of Śeliyan Śendan who flourished between A.D. 620-650 and who is identical with Nedunjeliyan of Tamil literature. He was renowned for his heroism and his victory over the Chera and Chola kings of his time together with five other kings made him master of the southern portion of the Deccan and an immediate neighbour of the Pallavas who were at this time, steadily rising to

* Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan p. 107-8.

fame. The absence of dates makes it difficult to be definite on the subject but it is likely that he was not equally successful against the Pallavas, and was defeated by Simhaviṣṇu of the Pallava dynasty. This would explain the statement of the Kāsākūṭi plates that he vanquished the Malaya, Kaṭabira, Maṭava, Choḷa, Pāṇḍya, Simhala proud of the strength of their arms and the Kerala. The defeat checked the expansion of the Pāṇḍya power northward and they confined their attention to the south until the waning of the Pallava power after the reign of Nandivarman made it possible for them to again make a bid for power.

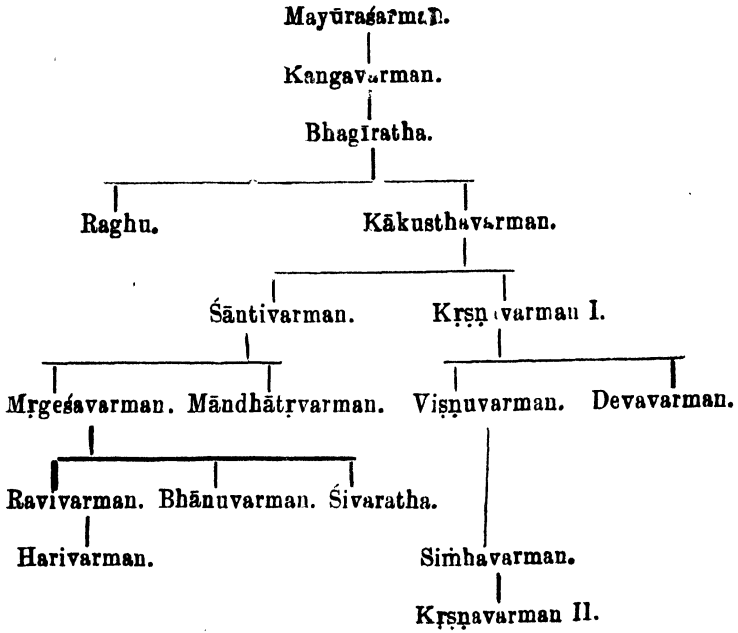
Of the earlier Cholas, the account is fragmentary but we may mention here three names often referred to in the old Tamil works and in the Leyden and the Tiruvālangadu plates which are our chief source of information about the dynasty. They are Śengannān, Karikāla and Killi. The order in which these kings ruled is not definitely settled but the Tiruvālangādu plate places Killi at the head, Karikāla in the middle and Sengannan at the end. The king last mentioned, was a valiant ruler and defeated a Chera king in a sanguinary battle at Kalumalam and he is further credited with having won a victory over the Pāṇḍyas. He also settled a number of Brāhmaṇas at Chidambaram and dedicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu not less than 70 temples. A special feature of these buildings was that they contained at the top, the figure of a seated elephant.

Of Killi, nothing noteworthy is recorded but Karikāla was undoubtedly an able ruler. He was the overlord of Vajra and Magadha, an ally of Avanti and defeated a king named Trilochana Pallava. The last mentioned

king is also said to have been defeated by the Western Chalukya king Vijayāditya and as Vijayāditya is known to have reigned some time before A. D. 550—that being the initial date of his successor, Puḷakeś'in I, it may safely be inferred that Karikāla was reigning in the first half of the sixth century of the Christian era. He also defeated the Chera and the Pāndya kings on the plains of Veṇṇil and this victory as well as that over the Pallavas and the confederacy of nine kings whose names are not available made Karikāla, the master of the whole of Southern India.

A ruler who by his prowess is able to reduce to subjection all his neighbouring kingdoms has, if he has only the mind to do so, an unique opportunity to do good to the people and Karikāla in the midst of his incessant activities did not miss it. He erected a dam on the Kāverī measuring 1080 feet in length, 40 to 60 feet in width and 15 to 18 feet in height, which was a great success and saved the country from inundation for full fifteen centuries. To prevent the bund from being washed away, the custom then was to allot a few acres of the land to persons profiting by the arrangement for cultivation and to make it incumbent on them to take out fixed quantities of mud or sand from the bed and to renew the bund every year.

KADAMBA GENEALOGY.



GENEALOGY OF THE PĀNDYAS.*



(1) Palyāgaśālai Mudukudumi Peruvaludi.
(Kaḷabhara interregnum.)

(2) Kaḍuṅgon.

(3) Māravarman.

(4) Śeliyan Śendan (Nedunjeliyan).

(5) Arikesari Asamasaman Māravarman.

(6) Śaḍaiyan Raṇadhīran.

(7) Termāran—also known as Arikesari Parankuśa
Māravarman Rājasimha.

(8) Nedunjaḍaiyan.

(9) Rājasimha.

(10) Varaguṇa Mahārāja.

(11) Śrīmāra Śrīvallaḥa.

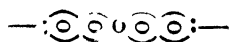
(12) Varaguṇavarman (13) Parāntaka Vīraṇārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan

(14) Rājasimha.

* Annual Report on Epigraphy 1908.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PALLAVAS.



The Pallavas, who were by far the most powerful foes the Chālukyas encountered are probably the same as the Pahlavas or the ancient Persians. The first reference to them occurs in the inscription of the Kṣatrapa Rudradāman on the Gīrnār rock, which records the fact that as early as in the reign of the great As'oka (B. C. 265-229 : a Yavanarāja Tushāspha, evidently a Persian, was entrusted by the Emperor with the task of providing conduits for the Sudars'ana lake built at the place. The inscription then goes on to mention the fact that Rudradāman himself appointed a Pahlava named Suvis'ākha, son of Kulaipa to be his minister in Surāṣṭra and it would appear that they were gaining steadily in power and in strength. In the reign of Gotamīputra of the Āndhra dynasty, they were so firmly established that the Nāsik inscription relating to the king lays special stress on their being defeated by him along with the Śakas and the Yavanas. So also Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty (A. D. 327 to 378) is said to have defeated Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchi but his relationship to the main Pallava family remains to be ascertained. There is then a break in their history but when they appear again, they appear as a dynasty firmly established in the Chingleput District of the

Madras Presidency with their capital at Kāñchi or Conjeeveram.

A fact which strikes one most on a perusal of their records is that they are there stated to be of the Bharadvāja Gotra and to have a truly Purāṇic genealogy beginning with Brahman and taken through Āṅgiras, Br̥haspati, Śamyu, Bharadvāja, Droṇa and and Asvatthāman to Pallava, so called because, it is said, he was born on a couch of sprouts.

So far as can be inferred from inscriptions, the first historical personage of the dynasty was Kālabhartri (Kānagopa) and he was succeeded by Skandavarman I, Vīrakūrcha and Skandaśiṣya or Skandavarman II. About this time, the Pallavas sustained a bad defeat and a Pallava king surnamed Trinayana was overpowered by the Chola king Karikāla and lost his capital which was regained only by Kumāraviṣṇu I, the son of Skandavarman II. The defeat however broke up the dynasty and as a reference to the genealogical table given at the end will show, nine kings of the dynasty ruled in four generations that elapsed between Skandavarman II and Simhaviṣṇu. The Pallavas thenceforth steadily rose in power and according to the Kāsākudi plates,* Simhaviṣṇu also known as Avanisiṃha defeated the Malayas, Kalabhra Mālava, Chola and the Pāṇḍya kings as also the Simhala king and the Keralas. His son Mahendravarman I is said to have annihilated his enemies evidently, the Chalukyas at Pullalura† but as the place is situated in the Conjeeveram District, it would appear that the Chālukyas had before their defeat, penetrated far into

* S. I. Inscriptions Vol II P. III 342

the Pallava territory. The inference receives support from the fact that the Chālukya ruler Pulakesin II is spoken of as having made the chief of the Pallavas take refuge beyond the walls of their capital. The Pallavas however had their revenge soon, for the next ruler Narasimhavarman I defeated Pulakesin II repeatedly in the battles of Pariyāla, Maṇimaṅgala and others* and signalled his victories by assuming the title of Vātāpikoṇḍa or the taker of Vātāpi. According to the copperplate grant from Kuram in the neighbourhood of Conjeeveram, he also defeated the Cholas, the Keralas, the Kaḷabhras and the Pāṇḍya† and even the king of Ceylon acknowledged his supremacy. This looks like an exaggeration but it is borne out by the Mahāvamśa which states that the Ceylon prince Mānavarman lived at the court of Narasimhavarman I and helped him to crush a certain Vallabha who invaded his territory. In return for the help thus rendered, the Pallava king provided Mānavarman with an army to invade Ceylon and though his first attempt was unsuccessful, he received fresh assistance from the Pallava sovereign and with its help he won for himself the kingship of the island and for Narasimhavarman I the sovereign rights over the place.

The Pallavas were thus at the Zenith of their power in the reign of Narasimhavarman I. He was succeeded by Mahendravarman II and the latter by Paramēśvara varman I. The reign of the last mentioned king began gloriously as he was able to inflict on Vikramāditya I "whose army consisted of several hundreds of thousands" such a severe defeat, that the latter was obliged to flee

* S. I. Inscriptions Vol I p. III page 370-1

† Do Vol I p. 144

covered only by a rag. Later on, he did not fare so well and his rival succeeded in driving him out of his capital "whose huge walls were insurmountable and hard to be broken and were surrounded by a large moat that was unfathomable and hard to be crossed and which resembled the girdle of the southern region."††

From this blow, the dynasty never recovered and its power began to decline though it continued to maintain its existence for four generations, Paramēśvaravarman I being succeeded by Narasimhavarman II and he by his brother Mahendravarman III. The real power was however no longer in his hands and was exercised by Nandivarman a remote cousin of the king who, we are informed in the Kāsākudi grant * was selected by the people evidently to replace the weak rulers of the main dynasty and to restore their waning power. He did not prove to be a man of great ability but he had the good fortune to secure the services of a general named Udayachandra belonging to the family of Pūchān who were the hereditary servants of the Pallavas and with his assistance he succeeded in getting rid of a formidable rival viz Chitramāya—a Pallava. He next gained a series of successes on the battlefields of Nimbavana, Śankaragrāma, Nellur &c. Udayachandra also took the fortress of Kālidurga defeated the army of the Pāṇḍyas at Maṇṇaikudi and inflicted a severe reverse on a Śabara King named Udayana. In the north, he pushed up his conquests so far that he came in contact with a Niṣāda chief—Prthivivya-ghra who, we are told, was preparing an Aśvamedha sacrifice and defeated him in battle driving him from

†† S. I. Inscriptions Vol I p. 145

* Do P. III p. 342

the territory of Viṣṇurāja i. e. out of the land of Vengi. Nandivarman was not slow to recognise the worth of his general for a grant issued in the 2nd year of his reign registers the fact that he granted at the request of Udayachandra, to a hundred and eight Brāhmaṇas, a village named Kumāra Mangala Valaṭṭūr which thenceforth became known as Udayamangala and is the same as the modern Udayendiram.

In the latter part of his reign which lasted for fifty years, the old hostility with the Chālukyas broke out again and King Vikramāditya II having invaded his country inflicted on the Pallavas a crushing defeat, took possession of the King's banner, his musical instruments and entered the city of Kāñchi. † The power of the dynasty was broken for ever, though names of three descendants of Nandivarman have been discovered viz. Dantivarman and Pallavatilaka Nandivarman. A branch of the dynasty also established itself in a part of the ancient Pallava dominion and is designated by Dr. Hultzsch as the Ganga Pallavas.

One would have surmised that the downfall of the Pallavas would lead to the expansion of the Pāṇḍya kingdom for as we saw in chapter XXII, the Pallavas were the people to check their prosperous career. This was, however not actually the case. Victories against the Pallavas are spoken of more than once, and Ari-kesarin Rājasimha is especially stated to have defeated them in a number of places in the Velvikudi plates but on the other hand, the Udayendiram plates,* state that the general of Nandivarman Pallavamalla defeated them

† Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII p. 28. * South Ind. Insc. Vol. II. Part III p. 372.

at Mappaikudi and this coupled with the fact that the places at which the Pāṇdyas are said to have defeated the Pallavas in the Velvikudi platest were in the heart of the Pāṇḍya territory leads one to infer that the Pāṇdyas did not fare as well as their records claim.

With other people, the Pāṇdyas fared much better, and according to a Tāmil commentary, Arikesarin Māravarman defeated the Cheras in as many as eight places† His son Raṇadhīran fought with the Kongu king and defeated a Mahāratha King at Mangalapura § Arikesarin Rājasimha, his son was equally victorious and continued the wars undertaken by his father against the Kongu and Ganga kings. Crossing the river Kāveri, he subdued the people of Mala-Kongam or the Maḷavas, worshipped the god Paśupati at Pānde Koḍumuḍi and presented heaps of gold and jewels to his temple. His successor Nedujadaian was also engaged with the Kongu king and though the latter was assisted by the Pallavas and Keralas, he was put to flight and the Pāṇḍya King marched in triumph to Perur and there erected a big temple of Viṣṇu.

Of his successors, Varaguṇa was the most famous and his inscriptions are found in the Tanjore and Tinnevely districts as also in the Puḍḍukottai State. Another, important event recorded about him is that he reduced to subjection the southern portion of the Chōḷa kingdom and that while encamped at Arais'ur on the bank of the river Pennar, he made certain gifts to the assembly of Illangokkadi, the modern Ambāsamudram on

† Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy 1907 p. 63.

‡ Ancient Dekhan by K. V. S. Iyer p. 124.

§ Annual Report on Epigraphy 1907 p. 63.

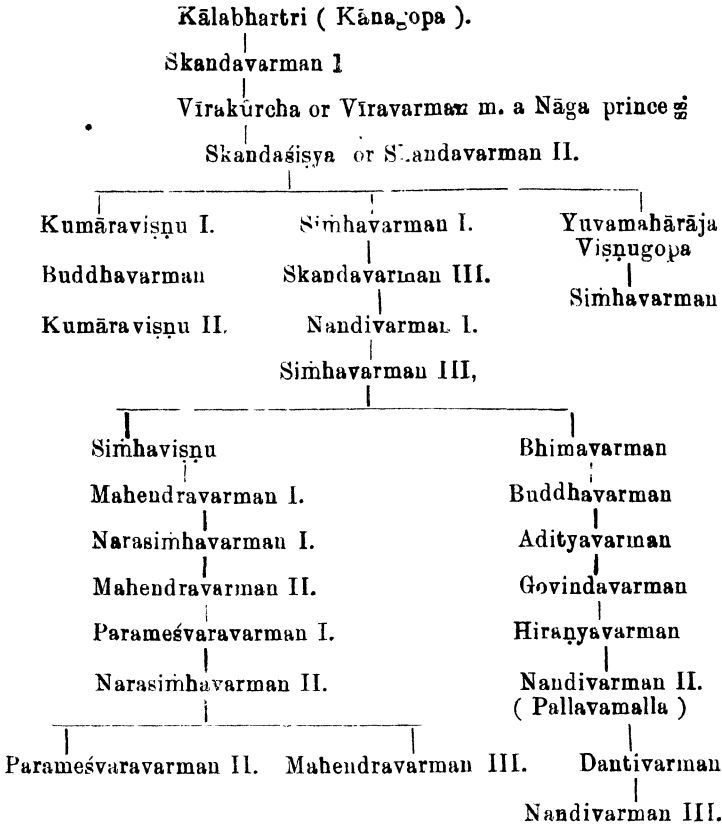
the northern bank of the Tāmraparṇi river. In the reign of Śrīmāra, the Pāṇḍyas achieved still greater fame by their invasion of Ceylon. There, according to the Mahāvamsa, internal dissensions had broken out between Aggabodhi the son of Duppala and Mahinda the son of his uncle. Mahinda sought the assistance of the Pāṇḍya king to further his cause, and the request was readily complied with; but the enterprise did not succeed and Mahinda and his brothers were killed. This however led Śrīmāra to lead a personal expedition against Ceylon. The Sinhalese army was defeated and the Pāṇḍyas took all the precious things that were in the King's treasury as also the things in the city and in the Vihāras. All the jewels in the King's palace, the golden image of Buddha, his two eyes of precious stones, the golden covering of the Tupārāma Chaitya and the golden images enshrined in the different Vihāras, were all taken away and the beautiful city was left desolate, "as if it had been laid waste by evil spirits."

As might have been expected, the growing strength of the Pāṇḍyas excited the alarm of the neighbouring kings and they formed a confederacy to check their progress but during the life time of Śrīmāra, they failed in their attempt and he defeated the Gangas, Cholas, the Pallavas, the Kalingas and the Magadhas at Kumbhakonam. His successor who came to the throne in A. D. 862 however proved a weak ruler and the Pallava Aparājita in alliance with the western Gaṅga King Pṛthivīpati met Varaguṇa near Sripurambia near Kumbhakonam and a dreadful battle ensued. The Ganga king lost his life but in the end, Aparājita suc-

ceeded and Varaguṇa had to retire leaving the place in the hands of the enemy.

Internal dissensions added to the difficulty of the Pāṇdyas and taking advantage of this, the Simhalese who were smarting under their last defeat invaded the Pāṇḍya territory. It was completely successful and Varaguṇa lost his life in the attempt while the Simhālese recovered all the treasure they had lost and returned to their country in triumph.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE PALLAVAS.



Narasimhavarman I. was a contemporary of **Pulakeśin II.** who flourished from A.D. 609 to 642. He bore the titles **Atyanta-Kāma**, **Srinidhi**, **Sribhara** (Epi, Ind. X 4).

Parameśvaravarman I. was a contemporary of **Vikramāditya I.** surnamed **Raṇarasika** (A. D. 655 to 680) and in the **Kānchi** inscriptions, he is described as, **Parameśvara**, **Ugradāṇḍa**, **Lokāditya** and had also the birudas of **Narasimhavarman I.** besides that of **Raṇanjaya**.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla was a contemporary of **Vikramāditya II.** (A.D. 733-4 to A.D. 746-7). He had the birudas **Atiraṇachhaṇḍa**, **Atyanta-Kāma**, **Srinidhi**, **Sribhara**, **Raṇanjaya**.

He was also a contemporary of the **Pāṇḍya** king **Māra-varman Rāja simha** (Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy 1908 p. 66).

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE WESTERN CHALUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI.



We now proceed to give the history of the dynasty which in the course of its victorious career defeated the various rulers and races mentioned in the preceding chapter viz. the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. As was the custom among the people of the time, they traced their descent from Purānic times and the Haidarābād grant† of Pulikesin II of A. D. 612 speaks of the family of the Chālukyas as “those who are glorious who are of the Mānavya Gotra, which is praised throughout the world; who are Hāritiputras, who have been nourished by the seven mothers, who are the seven mothers of mankind, and who have acquired an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity, through the favour and protection of Kārttikeya ” Their banner was known as the Pālidhvaja and their crest consisted of the Varāha or boar.

The earliest ruler of the dynasty whose name is known to us is Jayasimha I mentioned in the Mahākuta pillar inscription of Mangaleśa * and the Aihole inscriptions of Pulākesin II. † Before him, the dynasty was not well known but Jayasimha's success over a Rāstrakūta king Indra, son of Kṛṣṇa enabled him to lay the foundation of a dynasty which lasted for nearly two centuries and which ruled over a country comprising the whole of India to the south of the Narmadā and a

† Ind. Ant. VI p. 72.

* Ind. Ant XIX p. 7.

‡ Ind. Ant. VIII. 287.

considerable portion of what is at present known as Gujarāt and Saurāstra.

Jayasimha was succeeded by his son Raṇarāga i.e. the king who had a passion for the field of battle. The *biruda* suggests that he had fought many a battle but no details about these are available. In fact, the regular Chalukya history begins with his son Puḷakesin I who came to power in about A. D. 550 and who having made himself master of the town of Vātāpi, celebrated the Aśvamedha sacrifice. He is referred to as a Mahārājā in the inscriptions but it does not seem his swāy extended over any territory other than that in the immediate neighbourhood of the place which he thus acquired for himself.

He was succeeded by his son Kīrtivarman I in about the year 567 A. D. Like his predecessor, he is called a Mahārājā and is said to have celebrated the Bahusuvarṇa and Agniṣṭoma sacrifices. The Aihole inscription * further describes him to be “a night of death to the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadambas,” referred to in Chapter XXII and the Chiplun inscription speaks of him as the first maker of Vātāpi, which read in the light of the achievements of his predecessor must evidently be interpreted to mean that he was the first ruler of the dynasty to lay the foundations of its greatness. The Mahākūta pillar inscription + also says that he obtained success over the kings of Vaṅga, Anga, Kalinga, Vattura Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Gaṅga Mūṣaka Pāṇḍya, Dramila, Choliya Aluka and Vijayanti, which evidently is a very exaggerated account but it is quite likely that

* Ind Ant VIII 243. + Ind Ant XIX p. 18

he was engaged in continuous warfare with them and the ability with which it was conducted paved the way for the extension of the kingdom which took place in the reigns of his successors.

Kirtivarman I was succeeded in A. D. 597 'or 598 by his brother Mangales'a also referred to as Maṅgalārāja or Mangales'vara. One of his most notable achievements was a victory over the Kalachuri king Budha, which pushed up the northern boundary of his territory as far as the river Kim and brought him in contact with the Valabhi kingdom established to its north. He further added to his dominions an island known as Revatidvipa and as the Aihole inscription puts it, Mangales'a's army when it had beset the ramparts was reflected in the water of the great sea, as if it were the army of, Varuṇa, which had come at his command. The place has not been identified beyond doubt but in the opinion of Dr. Fleet it is now represented by the modern Reḍi a fortified promontory about eight miles south of Vengurla in the Ratnagiri District.

Mangaleśa was thus in the midst of his victorious career when he was forced to divert his attention to the affairs at home owing to the fact that his nephew Pula-kes'in was intriguing for the throne. Abandoning his campaign, he returned in all haste, to his capital, tried to arrest the progress of the intrigue but he failed and in the civil war that ensued, he lost his life, the throne passing to his nephew.

As might be expected, the subject kings and the kings in the neighbourhood were not slow to take advantage of the disorder that resulted from the civil war,

so that while the former threw off their allegiance one after another, the latter seized the opportunity to invade the Chalukya territory itself. Pulakesin was however equal to the occasion and set out to punish his enemies with a firm hand. He first turned against the invaders Appāyika and Govinda and inflicted on them a decisive defeat. He then reduced Banavāsi, the capital of the Kadambas and made the Gangas, Ālupas and the Mauryas acknowledge his supremacy. Puri was invaded with the aid of ships and captured and the Lātas, the Gurjaras and the Mālavas were reduced to subjection. The fortress of Piṣṭapura, the modern Pittapuram in the Godāvarī District was stormed and the king Mahendravarman I of the Pallavas was so severely defeated that he was obliged to take refuge behind the ramparts of his capital. Crossing the Kāverī, he also succeeded in making the Cholas, the Pāṇdyas and the Keralas acknowledge allegiance to him.*

The greatest of Pulakesin's achievements however was the signal defeat he inflicted on King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. As we have seen that great ruler had brought under his full sway almost the whole of India north of the Narmadā and as Pulakesin's conquests brought him in immediate contact with the empire thus established, war between the two rulers was inevitable. The initiative was taken by the Emperor Harṣa and in the words of Hiuen Tsang "having gathered troops from the five Indies, and having summoned the best leaders from all countries," he led an expedition against his great rival. Unfortunately, the details of this most interesting conflict are not available, all that Hiuen

* Ind Ant VIII p. 237.

Tsang whose account is the chief source of our information on the subject says is that he was even unable to cross the Narmadā to its south. This is confirmed by the inscription of Dantidurga, the Rāṣtrakūta king who while referring to the Chalukya army speaks of it as the army expert in defeating the Lord of Kāñchi, the Cholas, the Pāṇdyas and Harṣa; and by a number of other records. * The expedition thus failed and India became divided between two great rulers, the north being under the rule of the Emperor Harṣa and the south under Pulakeśin II.

The date of the principal events, connected with his reign, is difficult to settle with precision but as the Haidarābād grant, made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on the new moonday of the month of Bhādrapada, Śaka samvat 534 says that it was the third year of his rājyābhiṣeka or coronation and as the corresponding English date is 2nd August 612, it follows that the coronation must have taken place in the year 610 A. D. A more debatable question is when were the various victories referred to above achieved. The Aihole inscription states that those over the Gangas, the Ālupas the Mauryas, the Lātas, the Malavas, the Gurjaras and over the Emperor Harṣavardhana were obtained before the coronation took place and Dr. Fleet is therefore inclined to assign to them the date 608-9 A. D. But it is a question whether such extensive conquests could have been made within the short space of an year even making all possible allowance for Pulakeśin's ability as a great general. The victory over the Emperor Harṣavardhana especially could not have been achieved during the period, because he came to the

* Epi. Ind. IX 101 & 205 and X 105.

throne in A. D. 606 and he could not have proceeded to the banks of the Narmadā before completing the conquest of the north western regions and of a large portion of Bengal which was completed only in the year 612. Having regard to these facts, it may be concluded that in the year 608-9, Pulakes'in was established at Bādāmi only having driven away the invaders and that the other victories were achieved some time later.

An important event of the reign of Pulakes'in was the reestablishment of the eastern branch of the Chalukya family in the country of Vengi as evidenced by the Satārā grant recording the fact that his younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana I was administering the province in A. D. 616-17. He is there called the Yuvarāja and from this, it may be inferred that he was at the time exercising delegated authority only, but later on, the connection with the main branch was severed and that led to the foundation of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom which endured for five centuries.

Owing to his extensive conquests, the reputation of Pulakes'in spread far and wide and even reached beyond the confines of India; for, according to an Arab chronicle, Khūshrū II of Persia sent letters and presents to him in the 36th year of his (Khūshrūs) reign that is in A. D. 625-6. It was indeed a remarkable event and is supposed to have furnished a basis for one of the paintings at Ajantā which depicts the presentation of a letter from a Persian King to a king of India.

Of the king's character, we have an excellent sketch in the Chiplun grant † which describes him as an orna-

† Epi. Ind. III. p. 50.

ment of the family of the Chalukyas “ who punishes wicked people, who receives with hospitality learned men and friends, who confers favours upon servants, who has lit up the field of battle with the flames of the fire that rise from the tusks of the elephants of the hostile kings which are split by the sword, that is held in (his) hand, who is the sole aim of arrows which are the eyes of nice young women, whose keen intellect is capable of examining the essence of the meaning of various Śāstras, (and) who having bravely planted his footsteps over his enemies has taught the goddess of fortune who is fickle by nature, the observances of a true and faithful wife. ”

Unfortunately in spite of what the record states, the goddess of fortune did prove fickle; for, the Pallavas, smarting under the defeat inflicted on them in the reign of Mahendravarman I, prepared to strike a great blow and under the leadership of Narasimhavarman I inflicted on the Chalukyas a crushing defeat, so that in the words of the Kuram grant, he wrote the word victory as on a plate on Pulakesine's back which was made visible in the battles of Pariyāla, Manimangala, Suramāra and others *. The event must have happened at the close of his reign and may be placed sometime before A. D. 653, the earliest known date of Vikramāditya I.

The question as to who was Pulakesin's successor is somewhat shrouded in obscurity for he had three sons, Chandrāditya, Ādityavarman and Vikramāditya. Of these Chandrāditya is called a Mahārāja in the only grant relating to him which has been found and it is

* Vide p. 215 Ante.

thus not likely that he attained to any great prominence but Ādityavarman is called a Mahārājādhirāj and as possessing "the supreme rule over the whole earth which he overcame by the strength of his own arm and prowess" It is therefore quite possible that he was successful in restoring the fortunes of his dynasty but his victory was shortlived for, otherwise his name would not be omitted from the grants of his successors as is actually the case. In fact, Dr. Fleet is of opinion that he did not succeed at all but besides the wording of the inscription which points to the conclusion that he must have ruled at some time or other, we have the fact that among the Pallavas too, the king Mahendravarman II intervened between Narasimhavarman I and Parameśvaravarman I the contemporaries respectively of Puḷakes'in II and Vikramāditya I. We may, therefore, safely place Ādityavarman between the two last mentioned sovereigns.

He was succeeded by king Vikramāditya I who like his predecessors was engaged in a dire conflict with the hereditary foes viz the Pallavas. He was at first unsuccessful and sustained such a heavy defeat at the hands of Parameśvaravarman I in the battle of Peruvālanallur* that he had to make good his escape covered only by a rag but later on, he recovered from his serious defeat and had his revenge on the foe whom he succeeded in driving away from his capital Kāñchi. About the same time, the Cholas, the Keraḷas and the Pāṇḍyas were also subdued chiefly owing to the exertions of his son Vinayāditya while his grandson Vijayāditya maintained peace and order in the capital.

The exact date of these events is not known but it is certain that the victories were achieved before A. D. 659 because a grant of his brother Chandrāditya made in the fifth regnal year and dated the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āśvayuja of the autumnal equinox which occurred on the 23rd. September 659 speaks of the conquest of hostile kings in country after country, and the recovery of the ancestral fortune and sovereignty as accomplished facts.* The charter does not specify the name of the king whose reign is referred to but assuming that it is Vikramāditya I, his accession to the throne may be placed in A. D. 655.

The king is like his predecessor called the Parama māhes'vara or the most devout worshipper of Śiva and consequently the grants made by him uniformly speak of gifts to Brāhmaṇas. In fact, this appears to be the religion of the family because the grant from Nerur in the Sāvantvādi State referred to above mentions that the wife of his brother Chandrāditya named Vijayabhaṭṭarikā too granted land to a Brāhmaṇa. The king Mangales'a, the brother of Pulakeśin is however called a paramabhāgavata or the most devout worshipper of Viṣṇu and it is therefore likely that he followed a different creed.

Vikramāditya I was succeeded by his son Vinayāditya in the year 680 A.D. He was an able ruler having acquired considerable experience of the battlefield under his father and as we have seen, he was instrumental in breaking the power of the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Keraḷas and the Pallavas in the time of his father.* In his reign, he subdued the Kaḷabhras, the Haihayas, the

* Ind. Ant. VI p. 87-8.

Vilas, the Malavas, the Āluvas and others† and levied tribute from the Pārasikas and from Simhala or Ceylon. He is also said to have defeated some paramount king in Northern India but as no name is given it is difficult to ascertain the ruler referred to.

After a prosperous reign of sixteen years, the crown passed from Vinayāditya to his son Vijayāditya. Like his father, he had considerable administrative experience before he came to the throne for, as observed before, he had been entrusted with the work of maintaining order at home at the time Vikramāditya was engaged in his victorious campaigns. During the reign of his father, he added to this a practical knowledge of the battlefield having been associated with him in his campaigns to the north. So thorough was the proficiency he acquired in the art even then that he pushed further north than his father and won for him the signs of the rivers Yamunā and Gaṅgā.* The limits of the kingdom having been pushed to its furthest limits, he does not appear to have added any fresh territory in his own reign but the absence of any reference to warfare in his reign in his own records or the records of his contemporaries shows that the territory which he inherited was maintained intact by him.

Like his predecessors, he was a great devotee of Śiva and built at Paṭṭadakal a great temple called Vijayes'vara and now known as Saṃgames'vara. He however appears to have patronised the Jains also for a stone inscription at Lakṣmes'vara in the Miraj State records the grant, on the full moonday of the month

† Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 303.

* Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 129.

Bhādrapada, Śaka Samvat 645 expired, in the 28th year of his reign, of the village of Sembolala to Jayadeva-panḍita for the purpose of the shrine of Jinabhāṭṭāraka, inside a Jain temple known as the Śankha Jinālaya.* So also another inscription at the place records that on the full moonday of the month of Fālguna, Śaka Samvat 651 expired in the 34th year of his reign, he granted to a Jain named Niravadya Udayadevapanḍita a village named Kardama. This patronage of the Jain religion appears to be peculiar to Vinayāditya for no other ruler of the dynasty is known to have made similar donations.

Vijayāditya was succeeded by his son Vikramāditya II. In his time, the old hostilities with the Pallavas broke out again and the Chalukyas being once more successful and having taken their capital inflicted on them such a crushing defeat that their power was broken for ever and the dynasty ceased to exist.† Another notable event of his time was the invasion of the Tājikas or Arabs. According to the Navsāri grant of A.D. 737, they destroyed the power of the kings of Sindh, Saurāṣṭra and Kachchha, and overran the whole of Gujarāt. They also defeated the Chāvotakas and the Mauryas and then proceeded further south but here they were met by a Chalukya prince Avanijanāś'raya Pulikes'in, a member of a branch of the main dynasty established in Gujarat, who engaged them successfully and succeeded in preventing their advance further.

Of the two queens of Vikramāditya II. one was Lokamahādevī of the Haihayas or the Kalachuri

* Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 112.

† Ind. Ant. VIII. p. 23.

dynasty and the other was Trailokyamahādevī. The latter had a son named Kīrtivarman II. and he succeeded his father to the throne in A.D. 746.

He had like his predecessor obtained much experience on the field of battle, having taken part in the war against the Pallavas and had come out with flying colours because not only did he defeat the hereditary enemy but obtained a great booty in the shape of elephants gold and rubies. Later on, he had however to measure his strength with more powerful enemies viz. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Chalukyas did not fare well and sustained such a heavy reverse that the dynasty came to an end and their kingdom passed into the hands of the victors.*

* Ind. Ant. XII.

**SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE SHOWING
PALLAVA, CHALUKYA, PĀNDYA**

Pallavas.	Chalukyas	Simhalese Kings
Simhaviṣṇu		
Mahendravarṇ	Pulakeṣin II (609- 642) A D	
Narasimhavṇ I	Do	Mānavṇ
Mahendravarṇ II	Ādityavarman	
Parames'varavarṇ I	Vikramāditya I (655- 680 A. D.)	
Narasimhavṇ II	Vinayāditya (680- 96) A D)	
Parames'varavarṇ II	Vijayāditya (696- 733 A D)	
Mahendravarṇ III		
Nandivarman	Vikramāditya II (733 40 Kīrtivarman II (746- 57)	
Vn=Varman		Aggabodi (843-846) AD Silamegha Sena (846-66 A D) Sena II (866- 901 A D)

THE CONTEMPORARY KINGS OF THE AND THE SIMHALESE DYNASTIES

Pāndyas	Principal event
Māravarman I Śeliyan Śendan	Mahendravarṇ defeated Pulakesin at Pullalur. Narasimhavṇ defeated Pulakesin in the battles of Pariyāla, Manimaṅgalam and Śuramāra. He was defeated by Māravarman at Nevelli.
Māravarman II Śadaiyan Raṇadhīran	Paramēś varavṇ defeated Vikramāditya I at Peruvalanallur. On the other hand, the Chalukya records claim that he took Kāñchi.
Rājasimha I alias Māravaman III	Vikramāditya II defeated Nandivarman acc. to the Vakkaleri grant. He was also defeated by Arikesari Parankuṣa Māravarman at eight places, (Historical Sketches p.129)
Nedunjadaiyan Rājasimha II Varaguṇa Mahārāja Śrimāra Śrivallabha Varaguṇavṇ Parāntaka Viranārāyaṇa Śadaiyan	Varaguṇa came to the throne in A. D. 862 according to a stone record discovered at Aivaramalai in the Madurā District (Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan p. 139)
Rājasimha III	

CHAPTER XXV.

THE RĀSTRAKUTAS OF MALKHED.



The Rāstrakūṭas who wrested the supremacy of Southern India from the hands of the Chalukyas claimed to be the descendants of Yadu of the Lunar race. Some stray references to the earlier kings of the line are supposed to be contained in the Kauthem grant of A. D. 1009, in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin and in the grant from the Betul district of the Central Provinces but it is difficult to say if the kings mentioned therein belonged to the Rāstrakūṭas or some other dynasty, in the absence of any detailed information on the subject.

The earliest king of the line who certainly belonged to the dynasty was Dantivarman I and he was succeeded by his son Indra I. Very little is known regarding the events that happened in their reign or in the reign of their successors Govinda I and Kakka I. Indra II the next successor is said to have married a Chalukya princess * and from this, it would appear that the two dynasties were still on friendly terms.

But in the reign of the next king, hostilities broke out and according to the Rāstrakūṭa records, Dantidurga also known as Dantivarman (A. D. 754) inflicted a crushing defeat on Kīrtivarman II. of the Chalukyas and broke their power for ever. According to the graphic language of one of his records, his army tore asunder

* I. A. Vol. I p. 149 and Vol. XI p. 114, also Epi Ind XIII 276.

the rivers Mahī, the Mahānadī and the Narmadā and with a handful of descendants conquered quickly the unconquered host of Kārṇāṭa which had earned renown by defeating the lord of Kāñchi, Śrī Harṣa, the Cholas, the Pāṇdyas and Vajrata.† He also defeated the ruler of Kalinga and Kosala, the lord of the Śrī Śaila country, (i.e. Kārṇūl) the Śeṣas and the kings of Mālava, Lāṭa and Taṅka. It was at one time supposed that his reign did not end well, for flushed with success, he resorted to evil ways ‡ and his uncle Kṛṣṇa I (A. D. 768-772) seized the opportunity to get the throne for himself but it is now ascertained that there is no real basis for the conclusion. §

Like his predecessor, Kṛṣṇa I had to wage a war with the Chalukyas and was equally successful because according to the Wani grant, × “ he quickly tore away the goddess of fortune from the Chalukya family which was hard to be overcome by others.” This is further confirmed by the Baroda grant which says in equally graphic words that “ he transformed into a deer the great boar—the crest of the Chalukyas—which was seized with an itching for battle and which kindled with the warmth of bravery attacked him. ’. A grant of this king, recently published and dated Śaka Samvat 690 (768 A. D.) describes him as one who through the valour of his own arms expelled the whole enemy world

† I A. XI p. 114 ‡ Ind Ant XIII 162.

§ Epi, Ind. Vol XIV p. 123

+ I A. XI 160. || Ind. Ant. XII p. 162.

and whose career was resplendent like that of Kṛṣṇa * It then proceeds to state that the whole sky even in summer manifestly looked like that of the rainy season, the rays of the sun above becoming obstructed by the abundant dust raised by the lofty steeds of Śubhatuṅga. The grant was issued from Maṇṇanagara which evidently is the same as Mannai or Mānyapura, the capital of the Western Gangas and shows that Kṛṣṇa had before the grant was issued defeated the Gaṅga ruler.

The king is also said to have gained great fame by his success against a king Rāhappa who has not been identified, but who according to Dr. Fleet is probably the same as Kakkarāja II of the Raṣtrakūṭa dynasty in Gujarāt. The dynasty was founded by a king named Kakkarāja, who was succeeded by Dhruvarāja-deva and the latter by Govindarāja. Kakkarāja II referred to above followed, and in his time, the dynasty gained in importance and fame to judge from the titles prefixed to him viz. Mahārājādhirāja, Parmes'vara Paramabhaṭṭāraka, in a copper plate found at Chharoli in the Surat District and dated the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Aśvayuja, Śaka Samvat 679 expired, corresponding to the 24th September A. D. 757. The victory which Kṛṣṇa I obtained over him had thus a great significance and led to the establishment of his power firmly as far north as Gujarāt. According to the Baroda grant, he caused to be made a temple of wonderful structures situated in the hills at Elapur ' which struck with wonder even the gods driving in their aerial cars '.

* Epi. Ind. XIII p. 281.

The king was succeeded by Govindarāja II who according to the Daulātābad plates † defeated a king of the name of Pārijāta and espoused the cause of a king named Govardhana but being addicted to sensual pleasures, all power passed in the hands of strangers and his younger brother Dhruva took advantage of it to secure the throne for himself. According to the Patta-dakal inscription, he imprisoned a Gangā prince, took elephants from a Pallava King and drove Vatsarāja, king of the Gurjaras who had made himself master of Gauda into the desert of Maru. He was succeeded by his son Govinda III (A. D. 780-4 to 814-5) who was not the eldest but selected from several brothers as being the fittest person to succeed. Evidently, the ever increasing power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had excited the jealousy of the neighbouring kings and we therefore find a confederacy of twelve kings attacking his territory as soon as he came to the throne. Their plans were however foiled because the king without any extraneous aid succeeded in defeating them and thwarting their designs. He also released the Ganga king who had been imprisoned by his father but instead of appreciating the benefit thus conferred he proved a source of trouble and anxiety and had to be put into fetters again. He next reduced to subjection the Gurjara king and the king of Mālhwā and proceeding thence to the Vindhya mountains reduced a prince named Mārās'arva. Thence turning southward, he marched with his army to the river Tungabhadra and obtained still more booty from the Pallavas whom he had previously defeated. He also obtained a victory over

† Epi. Ind. IX 193. Epi. Ind. X p. 82.

Dantiga, king of Kāñchi and defeated the Keraḷas, the Mālavas, the Śāntas, the Gurjaras and those who dwelt in the hill fort of Chitrakūṭa. A very noteworthy feature of the king's reign was the transference of the capital from Nāsik to Mālkhed in the Nizam's territory which he caused to be strongly fortified by the lord of Vengi, Narendra Mṛgarāja Vijayāditya. This king who reigned from A. D. 799 to 843 was one of the most powerful enemies the king encountered, and is described as having fought during twelve years by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Gangas and Rāṣtrakūṭas.

The large extent of the territory which was thus brought under the sway of the Rāṣtrakūṭas made it necessary for Govinda III to devise special measures for its proper administration, and one of these was to appoint a separate Governor for the Lāṭa country corresponding to Southern Gujarāt, the first of the rulers so appointed being his brother Indrarāja.* The Gurjaras established in great strength to the north of this country tried to prevent the arrangement from being carried out but they were unsuccessful, and in the reign of his successor, the Rāṣtrakūṭa power increased still more so that they were able to protect a King of Mālwā from the aggressions of a king of Gujarāt, who had succeeded in defeating the kings of Gauḍa and Vengi.

Amoghavarṣa the, successor of Govinda III (A D 814-5 to 877-8) is also known as Śarva. Like his father, he had to wage a war at the very outset of his

* I. A. Vol. V p. 150.

career because Govindarāja of Gujarāt, the second son of Indrarāja rose in rebellion and it was not until Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja his elder brother vanquished him that his position became secure. Once that he was free from internal troubles, he was not wanting in the energy or the ambition to conquer the neighbouring kings and the *Sirur* inscription tells us that worship was done to him by the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga Mālava and Vengi. This so far as the king of Vengi is concerned is further confirmed by the *Sāngli* grant of A. D. 933 which states that Amoghavarṣa conquered the Chālukyas and the *Karda* grant of A. D. 972 which describes him as being a fire of destruction to the people. The fortification of Mālkhed, begun in the reign of his father, was completed in his reign and the capital removed to the place.

A prominent feature of these times was the steady growth of the Jain religion in Southern India and the increasing competition which Brāhmanism encountered from it. As we have seen, it had begun to thrive in the reign of the Chalukya King Vijayāditya and it received a fresh impetus in the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with the result that we find quite a galaxy of Jain authors and learned men coming into prominence. The first of these was Samantabhadra who published a book called the *Āpta Mimāṃsā* and is mentioned in the *Śravaṇa Belgoḷa* epitaph of Malliṣena to have made a missionary tour in Pāṭaliputra, Mālavā, Sindh, Thakka, Kānci and Vaidisa. After him, came another named Akalaṅkachandra, who wrote a commentary on the *Āpta Mimāṃsā*, and is said to have defeated the Buddhists in disputation. He was follow-

ed by Vidyānanda who wrote even a more exhaustive commentary on the last mentioned book called the *Apta Mimāṃsālaṅkāra* or *Aṣṭasahasrī* and *Māṇikyanandin*, author of the *Parikṣāmukha*. *Prabhāchandra* who published a commentary on this book was another well known writer and was followed by *Jinasena*, the author of a *Purāṇa* of the *Digambara* Jains known as *Harivamsa* and of a portion of the *Ādi purāṇa* a complement of the Jain *Mahāpurāṇa*. According to a *prasasti* of the *Uttara-purāṇa*, *Amoghavarṣa I* was a great admirer of this learned man and he is said to have received his training from a teacher named *Virasenabhattāraka* belonging to the *Sena-anvaya*. *Jinasena* did not live to complete the work he had begun but the work was continued by his pupil *Guṇabhadra* who not only finished the *Ādipurāṇa* but also wrote the *Uttarapurāṇa* or the second part of the *Mahāpurāṇa*.

Amoghavarṣa reigned for 62 years and was succeeded by his son *Kṛṣṇa II* (A. D. 888 to 911-2) He had when he was young received his training under *Guṇabhadra*, the author of *Ātmānuṣāsana*, and this gave a fresh impetus to the spread of Jainism. The war with the *Chalukyas* began afresh in his reign and although the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* records are silent on the point the *Chalukya* records clearly show that *Guṇaka Vijayāditya III* (A. D. 844 to 888) challenged by the lord of the *Raṭṭas* conquered the unequalled *Gangas*, cut off the Lord of *Mangi* in battle, frightened the fire brand *Kṛṣṇa II* and completely burned his city. Subsequently however, the *Chalukyas* were not so successful because according to another *Chalukya* grant

Kṛṣṇa II aided by his father-in-law **Kokalla** of the Chedi dynasty (Epi. Ind. I 253) overran the land of Vengi which was regained only by **Bhīma I**, the successor of **Vijayāditya**.

The king had a son **Jagattuṅga** who was during the life-time of his father entrusted with a military expedition which was very successful for the **Kardā** grant mentions that not being content with the hostile territories that had been acquired by his father, he went forth to make the whole earth subject to his father's sway. He however did not live long enough to succeed his father, for the **Deolī** grant expressly says that he died without obtaining the sovereignty and the **Khāre-pāṭan** grant corroborates this by taking the succession direct from **Kṛṣṇa II** to **Indra III** the son of **Jagattuṅga** by his wife **Lakṣmī**.

Of the event's of his reign, (A. D. 915-7) all that is known is that he went from his capital to a village named **Kurundaka** for the **Paṭṭabandha** ceremony of his coronation and that on the completion of the ceremony, he got himself weighed in gold on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month **Fālgun** S. S. 836 (expired) He had two sons **Amoghavarṣa** and **Govinda IV** of whom the former did not succeed having been ousted by the latter.

The important event of his reign (A. D. 918-933) was the renewal of the war with the Eastern **Chalukya** King **Amma I**. It seems some of the latter's feudatory relatives had joined in a conspiracy with the **Rāṣṭrakūṭas**, with a view to prevent his succession but he succeeded in thwarting their designs and won over to himself the subjects and the army of his father and grand-

father. Govinda IV renewed the war with the dynasty but he was unsuccessful and his army was totally destroyed by Bhima II. Thus foiled in his designs against the enemy, the king gave himself up to a vicious life with the result that his health was ruined and his reign ignominiously ended.

As the king had no issue, the crown-passed to his uncle Vaddiga, the son of Jagattunga selected by the feudatory chiefs. He is referred to in the grants of the dynasty as Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka, like his predecessors and from this, it would appear that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were still a great power but no important event is known to have occurred in his reign. His son and successor Kṛṣṇa III (940-66 A. D.) had however a very successful career because an inscription relating to him speaks of him as having taken the celebrated cities of Kāñchī and Tanjore. He also defeated two kings Dantiga and Vappuka ; reduced some hostile Gangas to submission and defeated a Pallava King Anṭhiga. The Kalachuris of Central India when harassed by the Gurjaras resorted to him for help and this having been willingly given, his general Mārasimha inflicted on the Gurjaras a serious defeat. One black deed however marked his victorious career viz. the murder of a Chola king named Rājāditya. The king was not directly responsible for it which was perpetrated by Satyavākya Butuga who persuaded the Chola king to go to out in the air and then treacherously slew him but his complication in the dark crime is conclusively proved from the fact that he gave to Butuga, the Banavāsi twelve thousand, the Purigere

three hundred, the Belvoḷa three hundred, the Kisukād seventy and the Bāgenāḍ seventy.

The king had a son and a younger brother named Jagattunga but both died before him and he was on his death, in the year 966 A. D.* succeeded by another-younger brother named Khotṭiga (A. D. 966-71). The usual titles of Mahārājādhirāja Parames'vara, Paramabhattachāraka are affixed to his name, but the power of the Rāṣtrakūṭas had already begun to decline and one of the Paramāra kings of Mālwa, Siyaka Harṣa took the wealth of Khotṭiga in battle and the capital Mānyakheta was plundered (Epi. Ind. I 226).

The reign of his successor Kakka II (A. D. 972-3) began well for he is said to have conquered the Gurjaras, the Cholas, the Hūṇas and the Pāṇḍyas but the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi were fast rising to power and fame and Kakka's power was overthrown by Taila II of that dynasty. Mārasimha, the son of Butuga attempted to restore the power of the Rāṣtrakūṭas by installing Indra IV, the grandson of Kṛṣṇa III but the attempt failed and the rule of the main dynasty came to an end though offshoots of the main branch continued to rule in scattered parts of Southern India.

* A. S. I Ann. Rep. 1913-4 p. 30.

CHAPTER XXVI.



THE GURJARAS.



The history of the dynasties mentioned in the last two chapters it will be noted, differs from that of the other dynasties established in the South, in as much as they were able to establish their sway not only in the country south of the Narmadā but also in the country to its north. Especially were they engaged in a long and obdurate struggle for supremacy with the Gurjaras who rose to power about the same time and we proceed to give a short account of that dynasty.

Their early history is wrapped up in considerable obscurity. The little information we have on the subject shows that they were a foreign race who entered India in the 6th century but the route by which they did so is not definitely known. Paṇḍit Bhagvāntlal Indrajī held the opinion that they came into India from the north west and penetrated as far south as Kāthiāwād and Gujarāt. but the earliest epigraphic evidence speaks of them as established in the country in the neighbourhood of Broach and it is thus probable that they came by the sea and settled in that ancient and important city. If they came from the north-west, it is difficult to see how their earliest settlement was in Southern Gujarāt. It is on that hypothesis equally difficult to explain their frequent conflicts with the Valabhis as well as with the Chalukyas and the absence of any conflict with the rulers in Punjāb and the neighbourhood.

The founder of the dynasty was Dadda I and he carved out a kingdom for himself by uprooting the Nāgas who were masters of the region adjoining the valley of the Narmadā. This is clear from the grants of his grandson Dadda II for, the land lying at the foot of the Vindhya range is described to be his pleasure ground. A fragmentary grant issued in his reign has also been discovered which does not give any historical information but is of great use in fixing his date being dated in the year 346 of the Traikūṭaka era which corresponds to A. D. 594-5. The kingdom over which he ruled was by no means a large one being confined generally speaking to the district lying between the Mahī and the Narmadā. Some of these grants were issued from Nāndīpurī or Nāndod, the present capital of the Rājpiplā State and it was the chief place in their possession but Broach also formed one of their important though much contested possessions.

The king was succeeded by his son Jayabhāṭa I called Vītarāga or the passionless. As may be inferred from his title, he was a man of peaceful temperament and we thus find Pulakeśin II of the Chalukya dynasty taking advantage of it, by bringing Broach and the neighbouring country under his subjection.† His son Dadda II (620-650 A. D.) however retrieved the power of the dynasty and fared so well that he was able to give refuge to a Valabhi King—evidently Dhruvasena II,—when he was defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣadeva. Of the two grants* issued by him which have been discovered, one is dated in the

† History of the Konkan p. 350.

* I. A. XII 81 and Epi. Ind II. 19.

year 380 (A. D. 628-9) and the other in the year 385 (A. D. 633-4) and they both relate the gift of the village of Sirīṣapadraka (Sisodrā) in the Akrures'vara Viṣaya to certain Brāhmaṇas of Jambusar and Broach. The grants also mention the fact that both he and his predecessors were worshippers of the sun and that Dadda II attained the five great titles.

To the reign of this king belongs Hiuen Tsang's notice of the kingdom of Gujārāt. " The country, " he says, " is 5000 li or so in circuit; the capital which is called Pi-lo-mo-lo is 30 li or so round. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people resemble those of Surāṣṭra. The population is dense; the establishments are rich and well supplied with materials xxx. The king is of the Kṣatriya caste. He is just twenty years old ; he is distinguished for wisdom and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha and highly honours men of distinguished ability. " In the latter part of his reign, he sustained a defeat at the hands of the Valabhis because a grant made by Dharasena III the greatest of the Valabhi rulers was issued from Broach and probably it was this which earned for him the title " Chakravartin. " The grant is made in G. S. 330 A. D. corresponding to A. D. 649.

Dadda II was succeeded by his son Jayabhāṭa II (650-675 A. D.) He was a warlike prince and probably was the first to attempt to drive the Valabhis away from the Gurjara territory, but he was not completely successful for his son Dadda III (675-700 A. D.) it is said, had to wage wars with the great kings of the East and West. The record itself does not give any names but a Chalukya copperplate grant dated in

Kalachuri year 421 expired (A. D 671) issued from Navsārī in the Baroda State * states that Srayāśraya Śilāditya when encamped there granted to some Brāhmanas a village named Asttigrāma a few miles to the southeast of Nāvsārī, and as he is mentioned to be the son of Jayasimhavarman whose dignity or prosperity was augmented by his brother Vikramāditya I, it would follow that the Chalukyas of Bādāmi were the foes with whom the Gurjaras had to fight. The struggle must have been a long one because a copper-plate grant from Surat dated Kalacturi year 443 expired (A. D. 692) refers to a grant in the vicinity of the place to a Brāhmaṇa by the same ruler pointing out unmistakably that the Chālukyas were still masters of southern Gujarāt.

In the reign of the next ruler Jayahatṭa III (A. D. 704-734), the Gurjaras fared still worse. One of his two grants † dated 456 (A. D 704 5) and 486 (A. D. 734 5) indeed mentions the fact that he defeated the lord of Valabhi—probably Śilāditya V but they had soon to encounter a fresh foe viz the Tājikas or Arabs who overran the greater part of Gujarāt and Kathiāwād and are expressly stated to have defeated the Gurjaras along with the Saindhavas, Chāvōṭakas, Mauryas and the people of Saurāṣṭra. This led to the overthrow of the Gurjaras established in Broach and the neighbourhood but almost simultaneously. the Gurjaras of Rajputānā and Kanauj came into prominence.

* J. R. A. S. (Bom Br) XVI. p. 1

† Ind Ant. V. 109 and XIII 70.

It is difficult to say how the change came on, but it may be surmised that owing to the decline of the Valabhi dynasty which must have begun from the time of Śilāditya V in A. D. 722, the Gurjaras found it easy to extend their sway northwards and to establish themselves at Bhinmāl. At the same time, their hold over Southern Gujarat became slackened owing to the rise of powerful dynasties in the Deccan. This is clear from an inscription relating to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga (A. D. 754) which expressly states that his elephants rent asunder the banks of the rivers Mahī and the Narmadā* and from the fact that the two branches of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, one descended from Kakkarāja I and the other from Indrarāja are known to have reigned there at short intervals in the years A. D. 757 and A. D. 811-12.

The first of the Gurjara kings who reigned at Bhinmāl as his capital was Nāgabhaṭa who ruled between 725-40 A. D. He is said to be of the Pratihāra race of Solar descent and to have defeated the Mlechchhas-evidently the Arabs who had established themselves in Sind in 722 A. D. under Mahmūd, the son of Kāsim and who taking advantage of the footing they had gained on the Indian soil used to make frequent raids in all the neighbouring countries e. g. Mār wād, Maliba (Māl wā), Barus (Broach), Uzain (Ujjain) Al Bailamān (Bhilmāl?) and Jurz (Gujarāt) ‡ He was succeeded by his brother's son Kakustha or Kakkuka and the latter by his brother Devas'akti or Devarāja. He was a parama-vaishṇava or a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu and

* History of the Kanarese Dist. p. 389.

‡ Elliot I 440-41.

was married to Bhuyikadevī but no further details regarding him have so far been available.

Better information is available regarding Vatsarāja the next king. One of the records relating to him says that he was a Pratihāra by race, and that he seized by force the imperial sway from the famous house of Bhaṇḍi*. As mentioned before, this Bhaṇḍi is probably the same as the one referred to in the *Harṣacharita* as the son of Harṣa's maternal uncle and it thus appears that he secured for himself at one stroke such portion of the territory of Harṣa as his successors were able to retain for themselves. Contemporary records bear this out. Thus one of the grants of the time of Govinda III dated Saka 730 mentions that "Vatsarāja the lord of the Gurjaras who was intoxicated with the goddess of the sovereignty of Gauḍa that he had acquired with ease" was defeated by Dhruva, the father of Govinda III and driven by him into the desert.† It also states that he took away from him not only the two royal umbrellas of Gauḍa that were as radiantly white as the rays of the autumn moon but almost at the same time his fame that had reached to the extremities of the regions. The king is also referred to in the Jain *Harivaṃsa* which states that § in the Śaka year 705 (A. D. 783) when the king named Indrāyudha was ruling the northern and king Kṛṣṇa's son, Śrī Vallabha was ruling the southern region, the East was under the illustrious lord of Avanti, the west under that of the sovereign lord Vatsarāja and the territory of the Sauryas under that of the heroic Jayavarāha."

* A. S. I. 1903-4 p. 281. † I. A. Vol. XI p. 157.

§ Bom. Gaz. Vol. 1 Part II p. 197 note.

Brief as this notice is, it confirms the information which we derive from the grants of Govinda III that Vatsarāja was the contemporary of the Rāṣtrakūṭa-monarch Dhruva, the son of Kṛṣṇa I and of Indrāyudha, King of Kanoj. As Kanauj is mentioned to be under Indrāyudha it would seem that the Gurjaras had not yet made themselves masters of the place but they acquired it in the reign of the next king Nāgabhaṭa II. According to the Sāgartāl inscription* he defeated the kings of Āndhra, Saindhava, Vidarbha, Kaliṅga and Vaṅga and captured hill forts belonging to the rulers of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirata, Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya and this is confirmed by an inscription of his dated Saka 872, the fifth of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra found at Buchkala in the Jodhpur State. † His most important achievement was the overthrow of Chakrāyudha. The king had been installed on the throne by Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal ‡ in the place of Indrāyudha with the submissive assent of the rulers of Northern India e. g. the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kira Kings+ and victory over him was thus a splendid achievement not only because it added Kanauj to the Gurjara empire but because it also meant the humiliation of the Pāla King of Bengal and of all other rulers who acknowledged his superiority. The event took place in about the year 810 A. D. and Nāgabhaṭa celebrated it by the transference of the capital from Bhinmāl to Kanauj.

* Arch. S. Ann Rep. 1903—04 p. 281 † Epi. IX. p. 198

‡ I. A. XV. 304; XX 188

+ Epi. Ind. IV 252.

The king was however unable to enjoy the fruits of his victory long, for the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were rising to fame and power and Govinda III of the dynasty after defeating the neighbouring kings advanced with a strong force into Upper India. Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha offered their submission being too weak to offer any resistance on account of their war with the Gurjaras and being thus quite secure in the east, he turned his attention to the west. The Gurjaras did not fare well. As the Rāḍhanpur grant mentions Nāgabhaṭa fled on hearing of their approach as the rainy season flees away on the approach of Autumn and the Gurjara kingdom in the west passed into the hands of the victor who appointed Mahasāmāntādhipati Karkarāja II to be his viceroy. How important the kingdom was can be seen from the fact that when there was a dispute for the throne in the reign of the successor of Govinda III it was the influence and resources of the Gujarāt Viceroy that secured the throne for Amoghavarṣa, the successor of Govinda III.

The reign of the next king Rāmahhadra otherwise known as Rāma and Rāmadeva was uneventful but when he was succeeded by Bhoja I, also called Mihirabhoja and surnamed Ādivarāha, the fortunes of the dynasty again took a favourable turn. Gujarat indeed continued to be under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the records of Mahāsāmāntādhipati Dhruvarāja of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty established in Gujarāt claim that though attacked on one side by the host of the powerful Gurjaras and on the other by the hostile army of the Rāṣṭra-

* Bom. Gaz: History of Gujarat p. 127; Ind. Ant. XII 181

kutas established in Deccan, he easily put to flight the Gurjaras and defeated Mihira. In the east, they were however more successful and issuing from their place of refuge in the desert of Maru, they advanced towards Mahodaya or Kanouj and the city once more fell into their hands. Continuing his victorious march, he inflicted a decisive defeat on the king of Bengal (Vigraha-pāla I or Nārāyaṇapāla) and this derives support from an inscription found at Mandor in the Jodhpur State* which mentions that Kakka, a follower of Mihira gained fame in a fight with the Gauda king at Mudgagiri or Monghyr. An indirect testimony to his prowess is also furnished by the fact that in the inscription relating to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa (Ind. Ant. XII-215) which states that he was worshipped, by the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Mālava and Vengi, but the Gurjaras are not referred to and we may infer from this that they were able to withstand the invasion in which the Rāṣṭrakūṭas overran all the territory north of the Narmadā.

The Arab references of the time fully confirm the above narrative of events as gathered from inscriptions. The earliest of these is that of the merchant Sulaimān A. H. 237 (A. D. 851) who ranks the Balhāra the lord of Mānkīr, that is, Malkhet as the fourth of the great rulers of the world to whom every prince in India even in his own land paid homage. x Another writer Al Masūdi describes their empire as stretching from Kambāya (Cambay) to Saimūr (Cheul). The last mentioned place we are told, was a very prosperous town and about ten thousand Musalmāns were

* J. B. A. S. 1894 p. 3 and 7.

x Bom Gaz V. I. Part I 525

settled there, of which some were born in the land of Arab parents while others came from the Persian gulf such is Busrah, Baghdād &c. They were quite liberally treated by the rulers of the soil as may be inferred from the fact that the Balhāra *i. e.* the Rāṣtrakūta ruler Indra Nityamvarṣa appointed Musa-bin-Ishāk to adjudicate Mahomedan disputes according to the Mahomedan Law.

The ruler next in importance to the Balhāra or the Rāṣtrakūta king was the Jurz or the Gurjara King. He was, says Sulaimān, at war with the Balhāras as well as with the neighbouring kingdom of Tāfak or the Punjāb. * As we have seen, this was only too true, so far as the Balhāras were concerned. It is difficult to say which is the Punjāb kingdom referred to but the Rājataranginī tells us that one of the Kāshmir Kings *viz.* Sankaravarman defeated about A. D 890 a Gurjara chief named Alakhāna and this supports the statement that the Gurjaras were sometimes engaged in war with the rulers to their north also. ‡

It is indeed remarkable that in spite of continuous wars both the Rāṣtrakūtas and the Gurjara kingdoms enjoyed great prosperity. In their territory (*i. e.* of the Rāṣtrakūtas) property, we are told, was secure; theft or robbery was unknown; commerce was encouraged and foreigners treated with consideration and respect. As regards the extent of Gurjara territory, Sulaimān says, that it consisted of a tongue of land, a description which accurately describes the possessions of the Rāṣtrakūtas

* Elliot's History of India Vol I; Bombay Gazetteer History of Gujarat p. 525.

* Stein's translation of the Rāja-tarangini p. 207

established in Gujarat. The empire of the Gurjara Pratihāras was of course much more extensive and included such widely separated places as Daulatpura in the Jodhpur State, *Deogarh in the Jhānsi district, Pehewa in the Karnāl district of the Punjāb, ‡ Gwalior§ and Kanoj.

The king Bhoja was after a long reign which undoubtedly lasted from 843 A. D. to 882 A. D. succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla by his queen Chandra Bhāttārika Devī. During his reign, the Gurjaras attained the zenith of their power and succeeded in increasing the limits of the Gurjara empire still more. Thus, an inscription has been found which records the grant of a village situated in the Valayaka Viṣaya of the Śrāvasti Maṇḍala and it would thus appear that the country to the north of Oudh, in which Śrāvasti was situated belonged to the Gurjaraking. Two other inscriptions which are of considerable use in enabling us to gauge the extent of the Gurjara empire are the one found at Rāmgayā on the other side of the river Phalgu just opposite the temple of Gadadpur at Gayā and the one at Guneriya a village near the Grand Trunk Road. † In the west, the inscriptions found at Unā in the Junaghad State unmistakably show that the Gurjara sway extended up to the southern part of the Kāthiāwād peninsula. It is thus clear that the Gurjara empire in the reign of Mahendrapāla extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian sea. The two inscriptions last mentioned have an additional interest as

× A. S. I X 101. ‡ Epi. Ind. I 184. § Epi. Ind. I. 154.

† Ind. Ant. XV. 110.

one of them is dated in the year 574 of the Valabhi era and is thus very valuable as containing the earliest reference to that era by name, and it also supplies the information that the King Balavarman who was a feudatory of the Emperor Mahendrapāla defeated a certain Viśadha and by slaying Jajjapa and other kings freed the earth from the Īlūna race. The second inscription states that Balavarman who was a Chalukya had a son Avanivarman II in whose time (V. S. 956) the grant was issued and that his father was Avanivarman I and his grand father Vāhukadhavala, of whom the person last mentioned defeated the Kaṇṇāta army, a king Dharma- who evidently is the same as King Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty+ and certain others, who were well known as Rājādhirāja Parames'vara. *

Mahendrapāla reigned from 893 to 907 A. D. and was succeeded by Bhojadeva II his son by his wife Dehanāga. His accession was contested by his half brother Mahipala II and he owed his success to the Chedi Emperor Kokalla I according to the Bilhari Inscription × and this statement receives confirmation from the Benares grant of the Chedi Emperor Kaṇṇadeva. † He is only casually mentioned in the inscription of his successors and nothing is known about the events of his reign or the period for which he ruled. The latest date of his predecessor is 907 A. D. and the earliest date of his successor is 914 and his reign must be placed between the dates.

+ See The Pālas of Bengal by R. D. Banerji p. 52.

* Epi. Ind. IX. p. 3. × Epi. Ind. I 251.

† Epi. Ind. II p. 306.

This successor was Mahīpāla also known as Kṣitipāla. The power of the Gurjaras in his reign began to decline owing to the conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Chandellas who came into power about this time and whose ruler Hayadeva defeated Mahīpāla (Epi. Ind. I. 122). As regards the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, we have seen how they were repeatedly engaged in wars with the Gurjaras and were more than once successful but so far the latter had been able to maintain their position in tact. Now, however, they found it difficult to withstand their attack and Indra III father of Govinda IV advanced as far as Kanauj-the capital and captured the city. This statement derives confirmation from the fact that the Kanarese poet Pampa also observes that Narasimha, a Chalukya chief, a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas plucked the goddess of victory from the arms of Gurjaras defeated a king named Mahīpāla and bathed his armies at the junction of the Ganges. × The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were, however, unable to retain their hold upon the city probably because it was situated at a great distance from their capital and the Gurjaras having regained its possession continued to rule there for a considerable time more as would appear from a grant of Mahendrapāla II dated V. S. 1003 (A. D. 946) issued from that place.* The invasion does not appear to have affected even the outlying provinces of the Gurjara Kingdom such as Surāṣṭra for a grant dated A. D. 914 refers to Dharaṇivarāha Chāpa-governor of Vardhamāna (Vadhvāna) as a feudatory of Mahīpāla. Two other inscriptions also show that his dominions

+ See the History of the Kanarese Districts p. 330. * Epi. Ind XIV. p. 176. § Ind Ant. XII. 190; XVIII 91.

included the Fatehpur District in the Gangetic Doab as well as Benares.† The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, however, continued supreme in Southern Gujarat and a copper plate grant from Naosari states that Indra III came from the capital of Mānyakhe'a to a village named Kurundaka for his coronation, got himself weighed against gold, on the completion of that ceremony in Saka Samvat 836 A. D. 915 and while still in the scales granted to a Brāhmaṇa a village named Tenna in the neighbourhood of Kammanijja in the Lāta Des'a.||

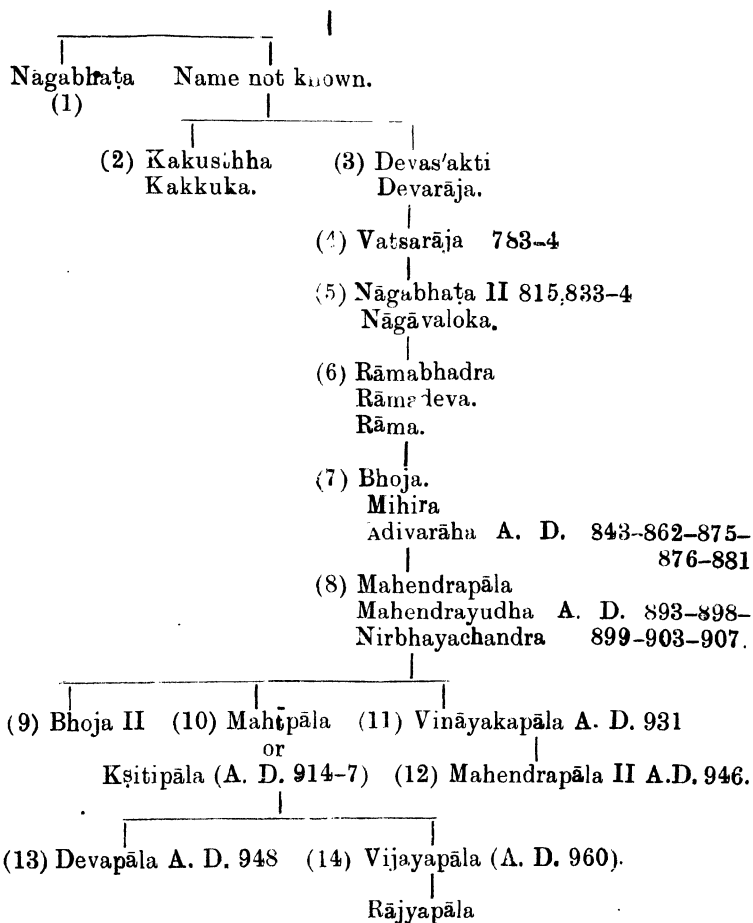
The inscriptions relating to Mahipāla cover the period from 914 to 917 A. D. About that year, he was succeeded by his brother Vināyakapāla and he by his son Mahendrapāla II. Kanauj was still in their hands and we thus find from the Pratāpagadha stone inscription dated V. S. 1003 (A. D. 946) that the grants were issued from that place. He was succeeded by Devapāla, the son of Mahipāla and an inscription mentioning him among other Gurjara kings has been found at Siyadoni in the Gwalior State which points to the conclusion that the Gurjaras were still masters of that part of the country.* It was at one time supposed that this king was identical with Devapāla the son of Herambapāla who gave to Yas'ovarman a Chandel king, the image of Vaikuntha purchased by Herambapāla from the Sāhi King of Kīra, who in his turn had received it as a token of friendship from the lord of Bhoṭa and who had obtained it from the Kailāsa mountain † but this is now doubted× The King Devapāla died without issue and was succeeded by Vijayapāla his brother.

† Ind. Ant. XV. 138; XVI 173-7. || History of the Kanarese Districts p. 415.

*Epi. Ind. I. 170. † Epi. Ind. I 170. ×Epi. Ind XIV p, 180.

The decline of the Gurjaras which had begun in the reign of Mahīpāla, continued in the reign of this king. Gujarāt slipped away from his hands owing to the efforts of Muḷarāja Solankī and the country to its north suffered severely owing to the invasion of the Mahomedans which now became frequent. As a result the Gurjara Kingdom after enduring for sometime more, under the rule of the successors of Vijayapāla viz. Rājyapala and Trilochanapāla came to an end, and as has been the fate of a number of nations who have come to India as conquerors, its warlike members settled down after their decline as peaceful agriculturists and they still form a well-known and powerful caste, numerous in Rājputana, parts of the Punjāb, the United Provinces and Central India.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE GURJARAS.



CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PĀLA DYNASTY.



While the Gurjaras had to contend with the Rāṣṭra-kūṭas in the south they had equally powerful foes to face in the east viz. the Pālas. The dynasty which ruled over Bengal for 458 years was founded by Gopāladeva, the son of Vapyata the son of Dayitaviṣṇu. Nothing is known about the ancestry of the last mentioned person, evidently because the family was of an obscure origin and did not wield any regal power until as mentioned in the Khalimpur grant * Gopāla was "elected" king by the people to escape from anarchy. Bengal at that time was the goal of every ambitious ruler and was overrun by more than one king in the course of his victorious career. One of these was Yaśovarmadeva of Kanauj+ who overran the country during the first two decades of the 8th century. His invasion was followed by one from Assam and the king Harṣadeva too reduced that region as well as Orissa and the Northern Sarkars to subjection. Lastly, as we have seen the Gurjaras under Vatsarāja invaded the province and brought Baṅga and Vaṅga under his rule.

A strong ruler who could effectively protect Bengal from these invasions was thus badly needed and the choice of the people fell on Gopāla. + The work was indeed difficult but Gopāla succeeded so well that on his death the dynasty was sufficiently well established to pass on the crown to his son Dharmapāla.

* Epi Ind IV p. 248.

+ J. R. A. S. 1908 p. 76.

Dharmapāla was an able ruler and at once began to make his power felt in all directions. He displaced Indrāyudha who according to the Jain *Hari-varṇaś'a* was ruling in Kanouj in 783 A. D. and placed Chakrāyudha on the throne. So rapidly did he achieve this that although his success affected the interests of a number of kingdoms viz the Kurus, the Yadus (Eastern Punjab and Sind) the Yavanas, the Gandhāras (N. W. Provinces) Kīra (Kāngrā), Avanti (Mālwa) Mādras (Afghānistān) the Bhojas and the Matsyas (Eastern Rajputāna) they had meekly to consent to the arrangement + The powerful Gurjaras only refused to recognise him and that, successfully ; for, Nāgabhaṭṭa III led an expedition to Kanauj and defeated in battle Chakrāyudha, "whose low nature was manifested by his seeking refuge under another."* Thence proceeding further, he defeated the king of Bengal himself.

But the Gurjara conquest did not endure long for the Rāṣṭrakūtas were harassing them incessantly in the south and under Govinda III dealt such a heavy blow to their power that the whole of their southern kingdom consisting of modern Gujarāt fell into their hands and a Rāṣṭrakuta viceroy was appointed to manage its affairs. Nāgabhaṭṭa himself was defeated and fled on the approach of Govinda III as the rainy season flees away on the approach of autumn, † taking refuge in the deserts of Mārvād.

It is difficult to say if as a result Dharmapāla recovered the territory he had lost. The Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṇa § states that sometime during the

* A S I 1903-4 p. 281 & 284.

+ Epi. Ind. IV 248

† Epi. Ind. Vol. VI p. 244

§ Ibid p. 108

campaign against Nāgabhaṭṭa II, Govinda III became engaged in a conflict with Dharmapāla in which the latter was worsted; but the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had their capital too far away to retain their control over their distant possessions and there is no doubt that in the reign of the next king Devapāla, the Pāla dynasty recovered all their power, and pushed their conquests as far as the Himālayas in the north and the Vindhya hills in the South. * This is confirmed by the Badal pillar inscription † of the time of Kedāramis'ra, the grandson of his minister Darbhapāṇi which states that as a result of the policy pursued by Darbhapāṇi, the illustrious king Devapāla reduced to subjection the earth as far north as the Himālaya and as far south as the Rewā or Narmadā. Kedāramis'ra the grandson of Darbhapāṇi also served as a minister to Devapāla and the inscription tells us that by attending to his advice, the Lord of the Gauḍas uprooted the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūṇas and nullified the conceit of the rulers of Dravida and Gurjara.

As the Nilgund inscription referred to above mentions that Amoghavarṣa was worshipped by the lords of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha and Vengi, it would seem that the war between the dynasties was resumed. It is difficult to say who was successful in the end but looking to the language of the inscriptions, one is inclined to the conclusions that the Pālas must have been the final victors.

Besides these, there are some other records of minor importance relating to the king. One of these records the

* Ind Ant Vol XXI p 255.

† Epi Ind II 162

Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Pāla dynasties,

Remarks.

The Jain Harivams'a expressly states that they were contemporaries.

Nilgūṇḍa ins Epi Ind VI 103. D's latest grant, the Khalimpur grant is dated in his thirty-second year.

Devapāla's latest grant is dated in his 33rd regnal year.

The Bhāgalpur grant is dated in the 17th year of the King. He is also called Mahida--pāla, Nirbhaya-rāja and Nirbhaya-Narendra.

Bhoja and Kṛṣṇa II were contemporaries of Kokalla (Epi. Ind. I. 253)

Mahipāla and Indra III were contemporaries acc. to Pampa (History of Kanarese Dist p., 380). Rājyapāla m. daughter of Jagat tunga son of Kṛṣṇa III.

Synchronistic table of the Gurjara,

Gurjara.	Kāṣṭhakūtas	Pālas.
Vināyaka-pāla A. D. 931	Govinda IV	Gopāla II
Mahendrapāla II A. D. 946	Vaddiga	
Devapāla A. D. 948	Kṛṣṇa III A. D. 940-56	Vigrahapāla II
Vijayapāla A. D. 960	Khottiga	
Rājyapāla A. D. 1018	Kakkala or Kakka II	Mahīpāla I
Trilochanapāla A. D. 1019, 1027		

Rāstroṇṭa and the Pāla dynasties.

Remarks.

Mahipāla was a contemporary of Rājendra Chola and was at first defeated by him; Later on he, was successful and drove back the Chola ruler.

- Notes:—(a) The figures in brackets show the years for which the Kings ruled acc. to Tārānatha.
- (b) Mahipāla I of the Pāla dynasty was succeeded by Naya-pāla who ruled atleast for fifteen years and Nayapāla by Vighrapāla III. The lastmentioned king had three sons Surapāla II, Mahipāla II and Rāmapāla all of whom succeeded him one after another. Rāmapāla had three sons, Rājyapāla, Kumārapāla and Madanapāla of whom R. died in the life time of his father and he was therefore succeeded by K and he by his son Gopāla III. On his death or dethronement, he was succeeded by Madan-pāla, the last ruler of the dynasty.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE CHOLA DYNASTY.

We have in the previous chapter seen that the Pālas in the later part of their history were more than once engaged in conflict with the rulers of the South and the latter more than once succeeded in making their power felt severely in the north. The Chola dynasty to which one of the most famous of these rulers viz. Rājendra Chola belonged was founded by Vijayālaya. We have in chapter XXII given a brief account of the kings who preceded him but the information available regarding them is fragmentary and it is with Vijayālaya that their regular history begins. x

Vijayālaya is referred to in the stone inscriptions relating to him under his title Parakesarivarman and from the Tiruvālangadu plates * it, appears that he took Tanjore from the Muttaraiyans who reigned before him. He was succeeded by Āditya I who added Kongu to the paternal kingdom and with the assistance of the Chera King Sthanu Ravi defeated the Ganga Pallava Aparājita, who in his turn had obtained great fame by defeating the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa near Kumbakonam. The victory was decisive and as a result the Pallava territory passed into the hands of the Cholas, as may be inferred from an inscription relating to the king dated in the 27th year stating that he confirmed the grants made by the Pallava kings, and from the fact that Prthivīpati, his

x For details see S. Ind. Ins. Vol II. part III p 376

* Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy 1906 p II 67.

grandson is said to have made a grant with the sanction of the Chola sovereign. †

In about A. D. 906-7, Parāntaka, the son of the last king succeeded to the throne and had a long reign of 46 years. He is referred to in the inscriptions as Vīranārayaṇā Samgramaraghava, Devendra and Paṇḍitavatsala and married the daughter of a Chera King called Vijayarāghava. His first great achievement was the capture of Madura† the capital of the Pāṇḍyas in the 3rd year of his reign (A. D. 909-10). Its king, Rāja simha fled and sought the aid of the king of Ceylon who gave it quite readily but as the Udayendiram plates ‡ mention, “ he slew in an instant at the head of a battle, an immense army despatched by the lord of Laṅkā which teamed with brave soldiers and was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses. “ The event took place in A. D. 918 which is the date of the earliest record referring to the event.

The Pāṇḍya king appealed once more to the king of Ceylon for help and as he appeared ready to grant his request, Parāntaka determined to put an end to these troubles by invading Ceylon itself. The event is quite graphically described in the Tiruvalangadu ** plates which state that all the waters of the sea were not enough to quench the fire of the Chola king's anger which consumed the enemies and which was put out only by the tears of the wives of the kings of Simhala, cut and killed by the King's weapons. The Mahā-

† S. I. Inscriptions Vol II Part III p. 387

+ Ibid ‡‡ Ibid

‡ Ibid

** Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy 1906 II 67

vamsà also refers to the event and states that " now at that time (A. D. 940-52,) king Pāṇḍu because he feared the Choliyans left the country, got into a ship and landed at Mahātitha, and the king sent unto him and was well pleased to see him, gave him great possessions and caused him to live outside the city. And while the king of Lankā was yet preparing for war, thinking unto himself " Now shall I make war with the Cholian king take two seaports and give them unto king Pāṇḍu, it came to pass that a fierce strife arose from some cause, among the princes of the island to the great misfortune of king Pāṇḍu and the king of Pāṇḍu thought thus to himself " I shall reap no benefit by dwelling here." So he left the crown and other apparel and went to the Keralaite. "

Parāntaka is also said to have uprooted by force two lords of the Bāṇa kings and defeated the Vaidumbā and many other kings in various regions. His fame however does not rest only on his military achievements but on the excellent administration of the territory over which he ruled and these we will now describe, after giving an account in brief, of the system of government in vogue at the time.

The territory over which a king held sway was divided into large parts called divisions or Maṇḍalam and these again into Valanāḍu or districts; Nāḍu or Taluks; Chaturvedi maṅgalam or circles; and ur or village. The affairs of a village together with its hamlets were managed by an assembly called the Mahāsabhā which though subject to supervision by the State officers exercised almost complete authority in all the departments of rural administration. It was composed of members elec-

ted by the village people and to facilitate this election, each village was divided into a numbers of wards fixed according to the size of the village and from each of these a member was elected. The persons eligible for membership were those with $\frac{1}{4}$ veli of tax paying land (2) those with a house built on his own site (3) those who were below seventy five and above thirty five (4) those who knew mantrabrāhmaṇa and were able to teach it. (5) Even if a person owned one eighth Veli of land, he was entitled to stand for election, if he had learnt one Veda and one of the four Bhāṣyas and could explain it.

Among those possessing the foregoing qualifications, (a) only such as were conversant with business and conducted themselves according to sacred rules were chosen as also those who had aquired their wealth by honest means, whose mind was pure and who had not been on any of these committees in the three previous years.

The persons disqualified to be elected were (1) those who had been on any of the committees but had not submitted their accounts as also their relations (2) those against whom illicit sexual intercourse or the first four of the five great sins were recorded viz. killing a Brāhmaṇa, drinking intoxicating liquors, theft, committing adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher and associating with any one guilty of these crimes (3) those who had been outcasted for association with low people, till they should have performed the expiatory ceremonies (b) who were foolhardy and (c) who had plundered or stolen the property of others.

The mode of election may be briefly described as follows. A various centres or wards of the village, pots

were kept evidently with their mouths covered and provided with a small hole just sufficient to allow a voting card,—a palm leaf containing the name of the person proposed to be elected. When all the voters had written, on their tickets, the names of the persons whom they proposed to elect and put them into the pots, the latter were taken to the assembly hall. A full meeting of the village assembly including the young and the old was then called for the purpose of election, which, all the temple priests in the village were required to attend without exception and be seated along the assembly in the village hall. The oldest of the priests then stood up and showed to the assembly an empty pot in which the bundle containing the tickets from each ward was thrown. The contents were then well shaken, and one ticket was taken out from it by a boy who knew nothing about the matter and handed over to the standing priest, the arbitrator. The latter received it in the palm of his hand with his five fingers open. He then read out the name of the ticket; it was read again by all the priests in the hall, and the name was then noted and accepted. Similarly one man was chosen for the other wards.

“Of the thirty persons* thus chosen, those who had previously been on the Garden Supervision and the Tank Committee and those who were advanced in learning and in age were chosen for the committee of annual supervision. Of the rest, twelve were taken for the garden supervision and the remaining six formed the tank supervision committee, the last two committees being chosen after an oral expression of opinion by the

* This was the number fixed for the village of Uttaramallur in the Chingleput District.

elected members. The great men who were members of these three committees held their office for three hundred and sixty days and then retired. If any one who was on the committee was found guilty of any offence he was removed. For appointing the committees after these had retired, the members of the committee for the supervision of justice " used to convene a meeting with the help of the arbitrator, and the selection made by drawing pot tickets according to the rules specified above.

For the Panchvāra Vāriyam and the committee for the supervision of gold names were written for the pot tickets in the thirty wards and thirty men chosen as above. From these thirty tickets, twelve men were chosen. Six out of these twelve formed the gold supervision committee and the remaining six constituted the Panch vara variyam. When drawing tickets for the appointment of these two committees next year, the wards that had already been represented during the previous year were excluded and the appointments made from the remaining wards by an oral expression of opinion. Those " who had ridden on asses " and those who had committed forgery had not their names written on the pot tickets and put in the pot.

Arbitrators and those who have earned their wealth by honest means were appointed to write the accounts of the village. One who was writing the accounts was not appointed to that office again until he submitted his accounts for the period during which he was in office to the great men of the big committee, incharge of the accounts and was declared to have been honest. The accounts which one had been writing were submitted

by the writer himself and other accountants were not brought to close his accounts, ”

It is somewhat strange to find anarchy following the wake of a ruler who introduced such excellent reforms and was able to extend widely the limits of the Chola empire but inscriptions leave no doubt that such was actually the case. It was primarily due to the fact that taking advantage of the absence of Parāntaka in the south, the Rāṣṭrakūtas assisted by the Vaidumbas invaded the northern portion of the Chola empire and though Rājāditya, the son of Parāntaka opposed him, he suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of Kṛṣṇa III in the battle of Takkolam and an arrow having pierced his heart when he was seated on his elephant, he fell dead on the field of battle (A. D. 947). × Tondaimaṇḍalam fell into the hands of Kṛṣṇa III and continued to be in his hands till almost the end of his reign.

As Parāntaka came to the throne in A. D. 907 and his highest regnal year is 46, his rule probably terminated in the year 953. It is difficult to state if he was succeeded at once by Sundara Chola or the two kings Gaṇḍarāditya and Arinjaya intervened. The absence of any inscriptions mentioning their reign leads to the inference that they did not reign nor is any important event connected with them known so far except that Gaṇḍarāditya was the founder of the city called Kaṇḍarādittam in the Trichinopoly District and that he was the author of a portion of the hymns preserved in the collection known as Tiruviṣaippā §

× Epi. Ind. II. 167.

§ S. I. Ins. Vol. II. Part III p. 374.

He is also known to have married Śembiyan Mahadevi and to have by her a son Uttama Chola but as he was a minor, the crown passed to Sundara Chola also known as Pārāntaka II.

The Cholas in his reign began slowly to recover their past greatness. His first success was obtained against the Pāṇḍya king Vira Pāṇḍya who was slain in battle and his son Āditya II is said to have played sportively in battle with the head of the latter * while he was yet a boy. He also invaded Ceylon with a view to gain back the crown and other royal apparel, the Pāṇḍya king Rāja Simha had left there and as Udaya III, the king of Ceylon (A. D. 964-972) refused to surrender them to him, he invaded his territory and defeating the Sinhalese army succeeded in wresting the things from him. He also recovered Kānchi from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to judge from the inscriptions of Madirakonda Rājakesari who in all probability is identical with Sundara Chola.

The king reigned from A. D. 954 to 970 and was according to the Leyden grant succeeded by his son Āditya II and the latter by Uttama Chola. The chronology of the time is not however settled beyond doubt and Mr. Iyer is inclined to believe that they reigned together till 980 A. D. when the death of Āditya II made Uttama Chola an independent ruler. His accession was coeval with the overthrow of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by the Chalukyas who under Taila II inflicted on them a disastrous defeat and in the words of the Bhadana grant put an end to their rule, just as light is extinguished by a fierce wind "and of their once

* S. 1. Inse. Vol. III. Part I p. 21

flourishing empire there remained only the memory" (Epi. Ind. III p. 269). A struggle for supremacy now ensued between the Gangas and the Chalukyas and though Uttama Chola was not able to take advantage of the opportunity, his successor Rājarāja the great turned it to the best possible advantage. The Tiruvāl-angādu plates in fact state that the people seeing the inability of Uttama Chola wanted him to ascend the throne after the death of Āditya II but as this would have led to a civil war, Rājarāja declined the request. It is however quite likely that he was the person in the real charge of affairs till he ascended the throne in A. D. 985.

The first task which he undertook was the organisation of an excellent army. The Velaikkāras a class of people admirably fitted for martial purposes were trained to be good soldiers and as soon as he succeeded in equipping a large army consisting of skilled archers, powerful swordsmen, mounted cavalry, elephant troops &c. he turned his attention to the Pāṇdyas and their king Amarabhujanga was taken prisoner. He then marched to Malainādu, captured the fort of Vilinam and cut off the ships at Kāandalūr + obtaining as booty an immense hoard of silver, gold, pearls and corals for which the Pāṇdyas and Chera countries were famous from times immemorial. Rājarāja next reduced to subjection Kudamalai-nādu or Coorg, * Nolambavāḍi, the territory round about Bellary, Vengainādu or the territory ruled over by the Eastern Chalukyas with their capital at Rajahmundry and pushed in the north-east as far as the country of the Kalingas. He also

reduced to subjection Tadiġaipādi and Gangavādi or the country of the Western Gangas of Talakkad. The latter province had already submitted to Parāntaka I but taking advantage of the confusion, in the time of successors, they were attempting to regain their lost territory when the campaign of Rājarāja put an end to their schemes and forced them to acknowledge his supremacy. In the Vengi country, he pursued another policy and with a view to ensure its friendship gave his daughter in marriage to the Eastern Chalukya king Vimalāditya. The policy was to a great extent successful for the sons and grandsons of Vimalāditya also married princesses of the Chola family.

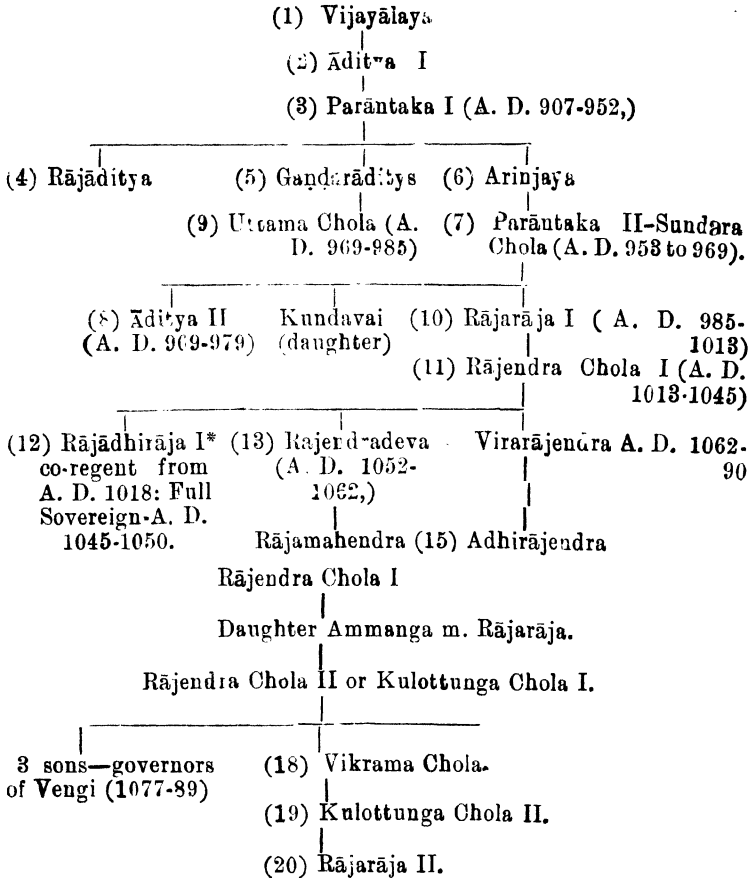
In the meantime, disturbances broke out again in the south and Rājarāja was obliged to hasten there. Quilon the principal town of the Cheras was reduced to submission and he destroyed the fortress of Udgai in the Pāndya territory. Crossing the sea, he invaded Ceylon and was equally victorious, and part of the revenue derived from there was dedicated to the big temple at Tanjore.

Rājarāja was now free to deal with the Western Chalukyas whose territory consisted of 750000 villages and with an army of 900,000 men invaded the country. Satyās'raya the ruling king was completely defeated and the victorious army pillaged the whole country, slaughtered women, children and Brāhmaṇas and forced them to marry their daughters. The work of conquest did not stop here but continued till the last year of his reign (29th) and he is said to have subdued the 12000 islands of the Indian Ocean !*

*S. I. Ins. Vol. III V. Part I p. 8.

Rājarāja was not only a great conqueror but an able administrator, and caused a thorough revenue survey to be made of his territory which was correct to $\frac{1}{52,428,800,000}$ of a Veli of land or $\frac{1}{50000}$ of a square inch—a Veli being six and two thirds of an inch. Following the foot-steps of his predecessors, he also utilised the water of the river Kāverī for irrigation purposes by erecting a number of canals and was the first to appoint officers and a committee to inquire into the administration of the public charities which used to go from place to place examining accounts, calling witnesses, taking evidence and punishing offenders. He also tried to foster the development of the dramatic art, by erecting large halls where dramas could be acted, and bringing damsels famous for their skill in dancing, musicians and pipers from all places settled them in Tanjore providing liberally for their maintenance. By religion, he was a devout Śaiva and the members of the royal family vied with each other in showering their wealth upon the temple of Rājarājeśvara.

THE CHOLA GENEALOGY.



* South Ind. Insc. Vol. III p. 1 p. 32: See also Vol. III p. II p. 196.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CHOLAS (*Contd*).

Rājarāja was succeeded by his son Rājendra Chola in A. D. 1013-14. He had been nominated to the throne three years before and had thus obtained considerable experience both in the field and at home and this combined with the fact that he inherited from his father a large dominion and was also endowed by nature with great ability enabled him to decide greatly the boundaries of the Chola empire. He is entitled to rank as the greatest ruler of the South and was the lord of a country larger in extent than that ruled over by any ruler subsequent to As'oka. His first success was achieved against the Pāṇdyas and the Cheras. They were never tired of attacking the Chola Kingdom, the moment they found them engaged in some war with their neighbour. Rājendra Chola inflicted on them a severe defeat and put an end to their intrigues by appointing his son to be the ruler of the provinces held by them. He then undertook his Northern campaign whose details have been preserved in the Tirumalai rock inscription, already referred to in connection with the reign of Mahīpāla of the Pāla dynasty. He also defeated his brother-in-law Vimalāditya of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty and erected a pillar of victory at Mahendragiri to bear witness to his triumphal career. He next crossed over to Burma and conquered the distant country of Kaṭāha or Kiḍāram in Lower Burma. These were achievements of which any

king could be proud and to commemorate them, he built a city named Gaugai Konda Cholapuram and a big temple on the model of the one at Tanjore but its site is now deserted and marked by a deserted track hardly visited by any person save the antiquarian.

A very notable achievement of Rājendra Chola was his subjugation of several islands in the Indian Ocean viz Nicobar, Pappālam and others. He also sent an expedition to Sumātrā and Jāvā and the existence of Tamil inscriptions at the place is conclusive proof that the conquests claimed for him were real. The Chinese work Sungshih informs us further, that he sent an embassy to China in A. D. 1033.

The great ruler was succeeded by his son Rājādhirāja I. The astronomical details furnished by his inscriptions give the date as A. D. 1018 but it is likely that the date marks the period from which Rājādhirāja I began to act as regent in the reign of his father and that he did not succeed to the throne till A. D. 1045, the year in which Rājendra Chola died. The war against the Pāṇdyas was continued in his reign with dreadful results for we are told that Rājādhirāja I cut off on the battlefield the beautiful head of Mānābharaṇa which was adorned with large jewels and which was inseparable from the golden crown (2) that he seized in battle Vīra Kerala, whose ankle rings were wide and whom he was pleased to trample down under the feet of his furious elephant called Attivāraṇa and (3) that he drove to the ancient Mullaiyur Sundara Pāṇḍya of endless great fame who having lost in a hot battle the royal white parasol and his throne ran away.

his crown dropping down, his hair dishevelled and his feet getting tired."† He also defeated the Western Chalukya king Āhavamalla-Somes' vara 1 (A. D. 1064-1068) and two of his sons Vikramāditya VI and Viṣṇuvardhana and in an Vijayāditya expedition against Ceylon defeated Vikramabāhu who according to the Mahāvamśa reigned from A. D. 1037 to 1049, (2) Vikrama Pāṇḍu (A. D. 1052-53) who was ruling the Southern Tamil country before he took possession of Ceylon (3) Virāśālāmegana who came from Kānyakubja and (4) Śrī-vallabha Madanarāja who is probably identical with Parākrama Pāṇḍu (A. D. 1057 to 1059). These victories which are confirmed by inscriptions relating to him found in Ceylon and are described in details in the inscriptions relating to him at Manimangalam * made him master of the Chera, Chalukya, Pāṇḍya, Pallava and the Ganga countries as well as of Ceylon. The war with the Chālukyas however did not end as one would have supposed from the language of the inscriptions but was renewed with full vigour and the king lost his life in the battle of Koppam and was succeeded by his brother Rājendradeva. According to the inscriptions, † he conquered seven and a half lakṣas of Irattapadi and defeated Āhavamalla, evidently the same ruler who is referred to above and this combined with the introductory remark in the inscription that his victory was achieved when the army of his elder brother was at his back confirms the inference that Rājādhirāja was killed on the battlefield

† S. I. Ins Vol. III Part I. p. 56.

* S. I. Inser. Vol III p. I p. 56.

† Ibid 40 and 112.

and his place taken up by Rājendradeva. Inscriptions relating to him have also been found in Ceylon and he is said to have set up a pillar of victory at Kallāpuram, the modern Kolhāpur. ††

After a reign of ten years which lasted from A. D. 1052 to A. D. 1062, the king was succeeded by Vīrārājendra. The never ending war with the Chālukyas began afresh and according to the inscriptions, there were three distinct campaigns. In the first, the armies of both the kings met on the plains of Gangapādi and the Cholas were successful, the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI having been driven as far back as the Tuṅgabhadra. Foiled in his attempt, Vikramāditya led an expedition against the Vengi country but fared no better and his general Chāmuṇḍarāja was killed. The third campaign was fought out at a place called Kūḍāl Sangam situated at the confluence of the rivers Tunga and Bhadrā but the result was the same and the wives of Āhavamalla, his treasures, the bow banner, the female elephant Puṣpaka and a herd of war elephants with a troop of prancing horses fell into his hands. * He also cut off on the field of battle the hands of the king of Pottappi, of the king of Kerala and of the younger brother of Jananātha of Dhārā and caused to be trampled down by a furious mast elephant the young son of the Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha and Virakesarin. x

†† I bid p. III. See also S. I. Inscr. p. 58-9 for a detailed account of his victories.

* S. I. Inscr. Vol III P. 1 p. 31.

x The five officers who are mentioned as signatories in this inscription (Karuvur) are also mentioned in the inscription of Rājendradeva 39 above thus showing that Vīrārājendra succeeded Rājendradeva within one generation.

This account of his successes derives confirmation from another record of A. D. 1070-1 which says ' the wicked Chola who had abandoned the religious observances of his family penetrated into the Belvola country and burnt the Jain temples which Ganga Permāḍi the lord of Gangamaṇḍala had built.' The inscription then goes on to add that " he yielded his head to Someśvara I in battle and thus losing his life broke the succession of his family." (A. D. 1072.)

He left a son Adhirājendra who succeeded him with the help of his brother-in-law Vikramāditya but he did not long enjoy his sovereignty, having been assassinated two years later. With him, the direct Chola lineage ceased and the crown passed to Rājendra Chola II or Kulottunga Chola I—the son of a daughter of Rājendra Chola I, by name Ammangadevī who was married to Rājarāja I, the son of Vimalāditya of the Eastern Chālukya family.

Though the country was engaged in almost incessant war during their reign the rulers of the Chola dynasty were conspicuous for their efficient administration; they spared no attempt to improve the condition of the country and it is a well recognised fact that they were the earliest rulers to utilise the Kāveri river for irrigation puposes, the names of most of the main channels of irrigation, at present watering the Kāveri delta, being found in the inscriptions of the dynasty. The most important work they undertook was the large artificial reservoir at Wodiarpattiam Taluq of the Trichinopoly District. Speaking about it, the author of the Gazetteer of Southern India observes " it may also be mentioned that in the Wodiarpalliam Taluq, there is an embank-

ment sixteen miles long running north and south, provided with several substantial sluices and of great strength which in former times must have formed one of the largest reservoirs in India ... The tank has been ruined and useless for many years and its bed is now almost wholly overgrown with high and thick jungle. It is said traditionally that its ruin was wilful and the act of an invading army. Near the northern extremity of the bund, there is a village now surrounded by a jungle called Gaugai Kondapuram; immediately in the vicinity is a pagoda of a very large size and costly workmanship, and close by, surrounded and overgrown with jungle are some remains of ancient buildings but in which the village elders point out the various parts of an extensive and magnificent palace. When this palace was in existence, Gaugai Kondapuram was the wealthy and flourishing capital of a small monarchy and the great tank spread fertility and industry over miles and miles of what is now trackless forest. Speaking of the noble temple of Gaugai Kondapuram, it must not be omitted that when the lower Coleroon Aicut was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures which adorned it and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain material for the work. The temple measures 373 feet by 584 feet. The 'lingam' made of a single block of polished granite is 30 feet, now unfortunately split in twain by a stroke of lightning. The main tower is about 200 feet high and the jungle block of granite which forms the minaret is twenty-five and a half feet square, calculated to weigh about eighty tons, and was raised to its present position by an incline which rested on the ground four miles away from the temple."

Such is, in brief, the account of the public works undertaken and constructed in the time of the Chola empire. If the rulers of Southern India had forgotten their jealousies and arranged to live in peace, Southern India would have served as a model to the states in Northern India of the time and even of the future but this did not happen and the various dynasties which rose to power completely neutralised the good work done by the others, owing to the incessant wars they waged. The state of Northern India was by no means better and on account of the inroad of the powerful rulers of the South combined with the never ending wars between rival dynasties only led to a continuous diminution of their strength and bringing new states into existence. One of these was that of the Chandellas or Chandrātreyas as they are called in the inscriptions and to their history we now turn.

According to the inscriptions (Epī. Ind. I 123) they derived their name from Chandrātreyā, the son of the sage Atri. In his family, Nannuka was born. He had a son Vākpati who had two sons Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti referred to in the Mahoba inscription as Jeṣṭhā and Veṣṭhā (Epi. Ind I) Jeṣṭhā was the founder of Jeṣṭhābhukti or Jujahati the ancient name of Bundelkhandā and Vija had a son Rāhila whose son Harṣadeva as we saw in Chapter XXVI defeated Kṣitipāla or Mahīpāla of the Gurjaras.

Once firmly established, the dynasty speedily became famous and Yaśovarman the son of Harṣa by his queen Kanchhukā of the Chahamana tribe carried on successful war against the Gaudas, Khasas, Kos'alas, Kāśmīras, Mithila, Mālavas, Chedis, Kuras and Gūr-

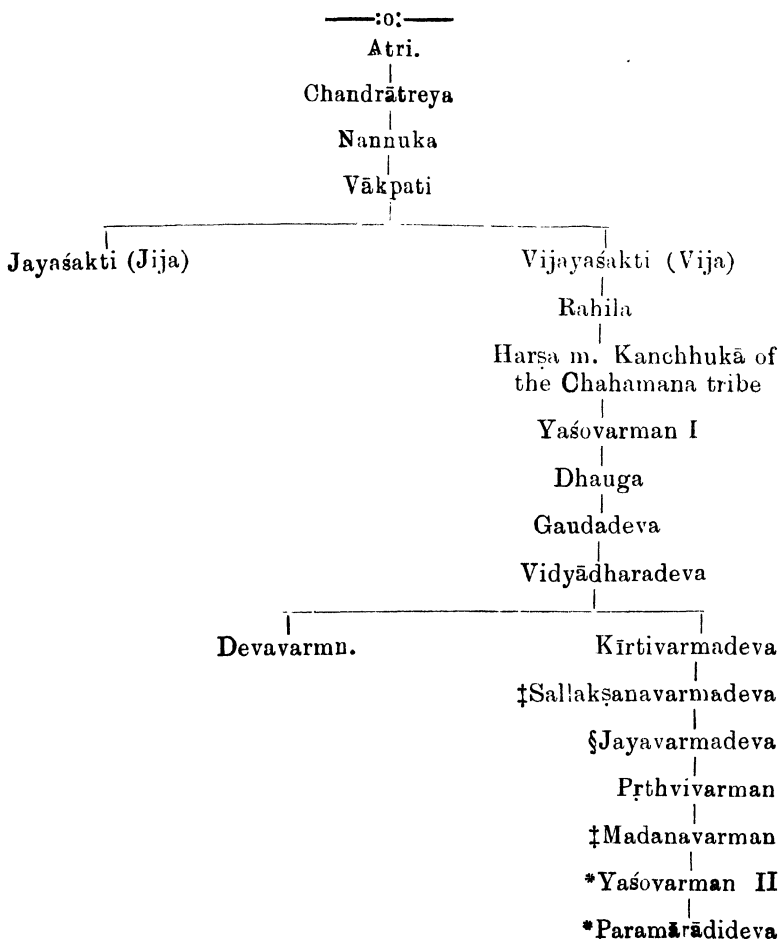
jaras and conquered the Kālanjara mountains (E pi. Ind 1. 123). He was succeeded by his son Dhauga who defeated the king of Kānyakubja and was so powerful that the rulers of Kosala, Kratha, Simhala and Kuntala humbly listened to his command and the wives of the kings of Kāñchi, Andhra Rādha and Anga lingered in his prisons (Epi. Ind I 138). The Mahoba inscription (I 217) further informs us that the illustrious Dhauga caused the destruction of his enemies and by the Strength of his arms equalled even the powerful Hamvīra who had proved a heavy burden for the earth. No details are furnished as to who this Hamvīra was, but Dr. Hultzsch who has edited the inscription is inclined to think that Hamvīra is a corruption of Hammira, the Sanscritised form of Amīr and as his latest date is 1002 A. D. (Samvat 1059) * and as according to Ferishta, Jayapāla the king of Lahore was on the occasion of his second defeat by Sabaktagin (A. D. 977 to 997) supported with troops and money by the king of Kalanjara, Sabaktagin is the Amīr referred to and Dhauga the king of Kalanjara.

Of the successors of Dhauga, the genealogical table at p. 296 will give full information. It will be seen from it that Dhauga was succeeded by the king Gaudadeva who according to the Mahomedan historians was attacked twice by Mahomed of Gazni in A. D. 1021 and 1023. Kīrtivarmadeva the third in descent from him was the next important ruler and is said to have acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Laksmīkarna (i. e. the Emperor Karna of the

* Epi. Ind. 1. 137 See E. I. i 220.

Chedi dynasty). His successors too played an important part in India's history but as their reign belonged to a period subsequent to the Mahomedan conquest it will be out of place to refer to them in the present volume.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE CHANDELLAS.



‡In the Chandella inscription Sallakṣanadeva is said to have carried on war in the Antarvedi the country between the Gangā and the Yamunā rivers, and Madanavarman to whose reign it belongs to have defeated the Kings of Chedi and Mālava and made King of Kāśī, keep on friendly terms (E. I. I p. 195).

*Batesvar inscription takes the genealogy from Madanavarman to Paranārādideva to whose reign it belongs V S 1252=Aśvina ukla 5-10 th. Sep. 1195 (E. I. I. 208).

§According to the Khajuraho inscription No. IV, (E. I. 137) Jayavarmadeva renewed in S. 1173 (A. D. 1117) the charter of Dhaugadeva of the year 1059 (A. D. 1002).

Synchronistic table of the Cholas, Pāṇdyas,

Cholas.	Pāṇdyas	Ceylon.	W. Chalukyas.
Vijayālaya			
Aditya I	Varaguṇa (Vira-nārayāṇa?)		
Parāntaka I 907-952	Rājasimha	Kassapa V (A. D. 929--939) Dappula 940--52	
Rajāditya			
Gaṇḍarāditya			
Arinjaya			
Parāntaka II-- Sundara Chola (953--969) Aditya II Uttama Chola (969--985)	Vira--Pāṇḍya	Udaya III (964-- 72)	
Rājarāja I (985--1013)	Amarabhujanga		Satyās'rāya (997 --1008) Vikramāditya V (1009--11)
Rajendra Chola (1013--45)			Jayasimha (1018--42)
Rājādhirāja (1045--50)	Vikrama Pāṇḍya		Somes'vara I (1044--65) "
Rājendradeva (1052--62)			Vikramāditya VI
Virarājendra (1062--70)			
Adhirājendra			

the Sinhalese and the Western Chālukya kings.

Principal events.

Varaguna was defeated by the Pallava Aparājita near Kumbhakonam and the latter by Āditya I.

Parāntaka captured Madurā and he was therefore known as Madirai Koṇḍa.

Rājāditya was killed in the battle of Takkolam.

Rājarāja named the Pāṇḍya country Rājarāja-Pāṇḍinādu, after the defeat of the Pāṇḍyas.

CHAPTER XXX



RESUME

We have now noted briefly the main incidents of the History of India from the rise of Buddhism to the Mahomedan conquest. We began with an account of the religious condition of India in the time of Buddha, noted the reformation that Buddha brought about and described the spread of the religion founded by him during his lifetime and after. We also discussed the political and social conditions of the time as gathered from Buddhist sources.

Two centuries later, a great event happened which changed the course of Indian history—the invasion of India by Alexander the Great. Though the conquest which the great general achieved was short lived, it had far reaching consequences because the example set by him was followed by such a large number of races that the history of India of the time is virtually the history of these foreign races. The Bactrian Greeks, the Parthians, the Śakas, the Yueh-chi, the Huns and Gurjaras were the more conspicuous amongst them and each of these succeeded in establishing large kingdoms in the different parts of India. The distribution of the coins of the Bactrian Greeks shows that they were established as far south as Kāthiāwad; Kaniška of the Yueh-chi tribe was the master of a big empire which included Afghānisiān and the great portion of Northern India. The Śakas were established first in the north and then in the west and the Gurjaras ruled over a kingdom which included Rājputānā and Kanouj.

A very remarkable though seldom noted feature of Indian history is that Indian rulers always arose who broke the might of these invaders. The power of the Bactrian Greeks was shattered by the great Maurya Emperor Chandragupta and that of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas by Gautamīputra of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Samudraguṇa destroyed the last vestige of Kushan power and the Emperor Harṣhavardhana annihilated the Huns.

Of the dynasties established in the South, the earliest whose account has been preserved is the dynasty of the Āndhras. Their dominion extended from West to East as their coins indubitably prove; they were a great maritime power. The next important dynasty was that of the Pallavas established at Kāñchi the modern Conjeeveram and on its decline its place was taken by the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. They in their turn were ousted by the Rāstrakūṭas of Mālkhed.

Of the administration of the time, the best account is that preserved in the Artha-Śāstra of Kauṭilya and this is supplemented by the account furnished to us by the Greek historians who visited India in the time of Alexander and after.

From this, it appears that while the monarchical form of government was prevalent, the republican* was not unknown and we thus find that while Alexander was in some cases opposed by kings, he was often met by foes who had a republican constitution and who were thus known by the names of the tribes to which they belonged. The Yaudheyas were another people who had a republican constitution and it is now generally

*See articles by Mukundilal and K P Jayaswal in the *Modern Review* (1920).

agreed that many of the coins which do not bear the names of kings but simple devices must have been issued by these republics which were distributed throughout the length and breadth of India. Some of the inscriptions found in Southern India are very valuable as throwing a flood of light on the village administration of the time. They show that the village was the administrative unit and its administration was entirely in the hands of the villagers, the king's interference being restricted to the recovery of the royal share. On the other hand, the king paid special attention to the army and to what may aptly be called imperial concerns. Thus, works of irrigation, of the construction and maintenance of roads, building of inns for travellers and hospitals for the poor, the taxing of trade, the maintenance of ferries, the levy of customs and the working of mines received the king's special attention, through officers working immediately under the supervision of the king.

Trade both internal and external was carried on, on an extensive scale and the evidence supplied by Buddhist texts points to a complete navigation of the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean and to the flow of a steady and ceaseless traffic between Bengal, Burma, Madras and Ceylon from 600 B. C. and onwards. The Chola fleets comprised some of the most enterprising traders and did not confine themselves to coasting traffic but boldly crossed the Bay of Bengal going up to the mouths of the Ganges and Irrāvādi and eastwards to the islands of the Malay Archipelago. In the Āndhra period there was trade both overland and by sea with Western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt in the

West and with China in the East. Indian elephants were used in Syrian warfare, and vast quantities of specie found their way every year from Rome to India. In the North too the Roman influence was at its height, for the whole of the civilised world except China and India passed under the sway of Caesars and this brought the empire of Kaniska directly into contact with that of Hadrian and Roman art and Roman ideas found their way to India along with Roman gold.

The Tamils were another race of enterprising traders and their literary compositions show that they used to undertake voyage from the coast of Madras to Nāgapatan, Sumātrā and Jāvā. These enterprising traders were also the first to settle in Lower Burma or Rega and they have long been known to the Burmese by the name of Talaing. Two other countries which the Hindus colonised were Ceylon and Jāvā, of which the settlement in Ceylon was the earlier and accomplished by king Vijaya as early as 543 B. C. The settlement in Jāvā took place in about 75 A. D. and was according to some authorities established by a band of enterprising traders from Kalinga. Some Jāvānese chronicles however ascribe it to the people of Gujarāt, assisted by a great and powerful prince named Aji Saka. Their first attempt was not successful but a fresh attempt was made in A. D. 663, when a ruler of Gujarāt forewarned of the destruction of his kingdom sent his son with 5000 followers including cultivators, artisans, weavers, physicians and writers to colonise the place in six hundred large and small vessels. The expedition met with complete success and as a result an extensive commerce sprang up with Gujarāt and other

countries and the foundations were laid of the temples known as Panataran and Boro-Budur the greatest specimens of Buddhist art in the whole of Asia.

In the sphere of religion, the period dealt with was one of great activity. The rise and spread of the religion founded by Buddha is its outstanding feature; but a number of other religions and sects flourished at the same time. Chief amongst these was Jainism which under the guidance of Mahāvīra and his followers gained in popularity and after a great struggle with Brahmanism and Buddhism succeeded in establishing itself firmly on the Indian soil. Magic and superstition had also obtained a firm hold over the mind of the people and were indeed so popular that even Buddhism the religion in which there was the least scope for that was modified to suit the popular attitude. As was natural, this led to its decline and Brāhmanism based on the religion of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads revived, owing to the genius of Śankarāchārya, the great Indian philosopher.

The caste system which owed its inception to the repugnance which a conquering race feels in mixing with the subject race now gained more and more strength as the number of races who came and settled in India as conquerors with varying religion and customs increased. The more important of these were the Bactrian Greeks, the Pārthians, the Śakas, the Yuehchi, the Gurjaras, the Mālavas, the Mevas and the Huns, each of which not only constituted a section of the Indian people by itself but coming in like a wedge between the existing sections, split them into two and led to a rapid multiplication of the castes already existing.

The architectural remains of the period are varied and numerous and in fact have supplied us the materials for the reconstruction of the history of the period which was hitherto shrouded in obscurity.

The most remarkable finds in this direction have been the discovery of the statues of two Śāis'unāga kings by Mr. K. P. Jayawāl.* Amongst those familiar to us since a long time, the more important are the edicts of Asoka engraved on rocks and pillars, situated at every important centre, the inscriptions relating to the Kushan kings found at Mathurā and Set Mahet, the Gupta inscriptions edited by Dr. Fleet, the Vallabhi plates and the large number of south Indian inscriptions relating to the dynasties ruling in the south. Other monuments of special interest are the Besnagar column, the pillar at Rummindei showing the place where Buddha was born and the casket containing the relics of Buddha and the name of Kaniska. The coins of Bactrian Greeks as well as those struck by other rulers also throw very valuable light on the history of the period. Last but not the least in importance are the caves at Ajanta, Eliphanta, Kanheri and Nasik. Hewn out of huge rocks these caves with their massive pillars, their elaborate roofs and profuse ornamentation stand as living testimony to India's glorious past.

But now a change came on. The prophet Mahomed had laid the foundation of the Mahomedan religion and his followers fired by a religious zeal, unparalleled in the history of the world reduced one country after another to subjection. The disruption of the Roman empire

*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society 1919.

facilitated their work and within six to nine years after his death, both Syria and Egypt fell into their hands. Roman Africa and Spain were next subdued and they were able to push their conquests even into the heart of France. They were not less successful in the East and the back of the Persian Empire was broken in the great battle of Cadesia in A. D. 636. In the year 650 the Mahomedans advanced as far north as the Oxus. Kābul next fell into their hands and having thus obtained a footing in the country through which so many invaders have come to India, their adventurous spirit impelled them to lay India under their heels. This will form the subject of Volume III.

APPENDIX.



ĀNDHRA CHRONOLOGY

The question of Āndhra chronology is not definitely settled. It has been treated in great detail by Dr. Bhandarkar in his history of the Deccan. Mr. Pargiter has considered all the Purānic authorities in his book, the Dynasties of the Kali Age. Following him, Mr. Vincent Smith has fixed the Chronology of the Āndhras in an Appendix to his Early History of India. The chronology given in this book differs substantially from it and it is necessary to adduce reasons in its support.

The difficulty in fixing the chronology is primarily due to the fact that the Purāṇas differ substantially regarding the number of rulers and the years for which they ruled. + Moreover the inscriptions relating to the dynasty do not contain any reference to contemporary kings enabling us to fix their date even approximately. The inscription of Rudradāman on the great Girnar rock speaks of his having defeated the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha but gives no name. The Greek geographer Ptolemy mentions that one Tiastanes was ruling at Ozene (Ujjain) and that in his time, the country inland from the western coast was divided into two divisions of which the Northern was governed by Siri Poleimos whose capital was at Paithan and the southern by Baleocuros who lived in Hippocura. From this, it would appear that Tiastanes identified to be the same as Chaṣṭana of the Kṣatrapa dynasty and Puḷumāyi were contemporaries but its value is much impaired by

+ Vide History of the Deccan Bom. Gaz.

the fact that according to epigraphical evidence, Gautamīputra of the Āndhra dynasty and the Kṣatrapa Rudradāman were contemporaries and as Pulumayi *succeeded* Rudradāman, it is impossible that he could be a contemporary of Chaṣṭana who *preceded* Rudradāman by two generations. We have therefore to find out some other data for fixing their chronology.

They are available and are furnished by coins, inscriptions and the Purāṇas. As is well known, the Purāṇas agree in stating that Śimuka, the founder of the dynasty came to power after displacing the Kānvāyanas. On the other hand, the Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta states that the Guptas came to power after displacing the last of the Āndhras and their date would thus fall between 50 A. D. the latest date of the Kānvāyanas, and 319 A. D. the earliest date of the Guptas and the total duration of their reign would be 269 years. This is almost exactly the period for which the Āndhras are said to have ruled in the Vāyu Purāṇa and we may therefore reasonably conclude that the dates are correct.

We will next see if the dates agree with other well known facts relating to the dynasty. Unambiguous synchronisms are unfortunately few but besides the one already referred to above, the inscriptions furnish at least one more *viz* that of the Nāsik cave which states that Gautamīputra Śātakarni exterminated the Kṣaharāta race. As Nahapāna, the Western Kṣatrapa is expressly stated to be a Kṣaharāta, in the coins struck by *him, opinion is unanimous that the Kṣaharāta race which was displaced was the one to which Nahapāna belonged. This is further corroborated by the fact that

a large number of coins have been found which contain Gautamīputra's stamp on the coins of Nahapāna. Nahapāna reigned from 78 A. D. to 124 A. D. and the date of Gautamīputra's victory may approximately be fixed to be 126 A. D. which agrees with the date assigned to Gautamīputra in the text. Again, as mentioned above, the Greek geographer Ptolemy states that when he wrote his book, a ruler named Siro Polemios was reigning on the western coast as he died in 163 A. D. and is known to have written his work after 151 A. D. the date of Puṣumāyi as given in the text agrees with the date deducible from that source.

It may be stated here that Gautamīputra of the inscriptions is generally identified not with the third ruler of the dynasty but the thirteenth. There are however two reasons which may be urged against the adoption of the latter view *viz* (1) that the founder of a dynasty as a rule tops the list and cannot stand so low and (2) that besides Gautamīputra, who was the thirteenth ruler, a number of other rulers bore the title Śātakarni and therefore the name must have become famous long before him. Lastly, an inscription of Puṣumāyi is dated in the 19th year and this agrees with the reign of twenty five years assigned to him in the text according to the Vāyu Purāṇa.

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Dutt J. C.	The kings of Kashmir
Dutt M. M.	Translation of Agni Purana
	„ Harivamsa
	„ Mahabharata
	„ Ramayana
	„ Vishnupurana

Dutt R. C.	Civilisation in ancient India
Elliott	Coins of southern India
Elliott & Dowson	History of India as told by its own historians 8 vol.
Elphinstone	History of India
Fleet (Dr.)	The Kaliyuga Era of B. C. 102 (J. R. A. S. 1911)
Fraser	A literary history of India
Hopkins	The religions of India
Hunter (Sir W. W)	A brief history of the Indian people
Iyengar S. K.	Ancient India
Kunte M. M.	Vicissitudes of Aryan civilisation in India
Law N N.	Ancient Indian Polity
Maccrindle	Ancient India as described in classical literature
Macdonell A. A	History of Sanskr̥t literature
Max muller	Six systems of Indian philosophy
Monier-Williams	Religious thought & life in India
Moor	Hindu Pantheon
Mukerji R. K.	Indian shipping
Nandargikar	Raghuvams'a
Pargiter L. E	Ancient Indian geneology and chronology
Rapson	Indian coins
Rawlinson C.	The story of Parthia
Rawlinson	Indian historical studies

Rawlinson-George	The seven great monarchies
Rhys Davids	Buddhist Indian studies
Risley (Sir H.)	The people of India
Ross	History of Gujrat (Tarab's)
Seal B	Positive sciences of the Hindus
Shama S'as'tri	Artha S'as'tra of Kautilya
Sewell	Indian chronography
Smith V A.	Early History of India
	Edicts of As'oka
	A history of five arts in India and Ceylone
Stein (Dr)	Chronicles of the kings of Kashmir (2 vol.)
Vaidya C. V.	Mahabharata-a criticism
Wheeler	History of India
Wilson	Visnu Purana

Besides these, the author also made use of the articles and other publications of contemporary Indian workers in the same field, such as Jayasval, Law, Mazmudar, Mukerji, Mukundilal, Sarkar and others. The following publications were often referred to by him.

Asiatic Researches
 Epigraphia Indica
 Imperial Gazetteer
 Indian Antiquary
 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
 Journal of the Asiatic Society o Bengal
 Publications of the Panini office
 South Indian Inscriptions
 The Buddhist Review
 The Modern Review

V. J. P.

Transliteration of Sanskrit words adopted in this Volume

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अ=a; आ=ā; इ=i; ई=ī; उ=u; ऊ=ū; ऋ=r;
 ॠ=r; ल=l; ॡ=l; ए=e; ऐ=ai; ओ=o;
 औ=au; क=k; ख=kh; ग=g; घ=gh; ङ=n;
 च=ch; छ=chh; ज=j; झ=jh; ञ=ñ; ट=t;
 ठ=th; ड=d; ढ=dh; ण=n; त=t; थ=th;
 द=d; ध=dh; न=n; प=p; फ=ph; ब=b;
 भ=bh; म=m; य=y; र=r; ल=l; व=v;
 श=ś; ष=ṣ; स=s; ह=h; Anusvāra=m;
 Visarga=h.

